



FIG. 1
Negro Artist
at work
(Cameroons)

THE SAVAGE HITS BACK

OR

THE WHITE MAN THROUGH NATIVE EYES

by
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INTRODUCTION

ANTHROPOLOGY is the science of the sense of humour. It can be thus defined without too much pretension or facetiousness. For to see ourselves as others see us is but the reverse and the counterpart of the gift to see others as they really are and as they want to be. And this is the *métier* of the anthropologist. He has to break down the barriers of race and of cultural diversity; he has to find the human being in the savage; he has to discover the primitive in the highly sophisticated Westerner of to-day, and, perhaps, to see that the animal, and the divine as well, are to be found everywhere in man.

We are learning by the growing wisdom of the theoretician and by its complete dissociation from political affairs that the dividing line between savage and civilized is by no means easy to draw. Where can we find cruder magic than in the political propaganda of to-day? What type of witch-hunting or witch trial will not appear decent and reasonable in comparison with some of the forms of persecution of racial minorities in Central Europe? Cannibalism shocks us terribly. Yet I remember talking to an old cannibal who from missionary and administrator had heard news of the Great War raging then in Europe. What he was most curious to know was how we Europeans managed to eat such enormous quantities of human flesh, as the casualties of a battle seemed to imply. When I told him indignantly that Europeans do not eat their slain foes, he looked at me with real horror and asked me what sort of barbarians we were to kill without any real object. In such incidents as these the anthropologist learns to appreciate that Socratic wisdom can be best reached by sympathetic insight into the lives and view-points of others.

If anthropology be defined as the art and craft in the sense of humour, then the present book is one of the first contributions to real anthropology—first in rank and first in priority of time. In it Professor Lips works out one of the most fruitful approaches to anthropology. He inquires into the vision of white humanity as held by the native. The book is perhaps the

first clearly planned, fully documented, and vigorously written analysis of the white man from the point of view of the coloured races. In this Professor Lips is a worthy successor of Montesquieu and Oliver Goldsmith, with this difference that, having at his disposal much fuller material, he does not romance, but lets sober truth, illustrated with a wealth of excellent pictures, speak for itself. The main interest of the book and its chief value will, of course, consist in the pictorial documents collected, classified, and annotated by the writer. In this Professor Lips shows himself a real scholar, and his analysis of painting, sketch, and carving will be of great value to all interested in primitive art.

Scientifically, however, this approach is yet more significant. Professor Lips presents us with the only objective, clear, and telling documentation of native opinion on Europeans, because it is in the plastic and decorative arts that man expresses himself fully, unambiguously, and in a manner which lasts and can be reproduced.

The writer in his interesting autobiographical introduction makes us well understand why he can sympathize with the native. He belongs to a minority, the minority of German refugees; and even to a minority within the minority, for he is a 'Nordic' who has left the country because he could not stand the prevalence of Nordic brutalities.

The writer speaks out honestly and fearlessly in his book, as he has done in his line of conduct. Once more it is with real pleasure that one finds an anthropological work in which the writer is frankly the native's spokesman, not only of the native point of view, but also of native interests and grievances. It has always appeared to me remarkable how little the trained anthropologist, with his highly perfected technique of field-work and his theoretical knowledge, has so far worked and fought side by side with those who are usually described as pro-native. Was it because science makes people too cautious and pedantry too timid? Or was it because the anthropologist, enamoured of the unspoiled primitive, lost all interest in the native enslaved, oppressed, or detribalized? However that might be, I for one believe in the anthropologist's being not only the interpreter of the native but also his champion. From this point of view I can find no fault with the book. Take for instance the first chapter. It is more general than the others; it gives an excellent history of European colonization and the first contacts. It presents the facts succinctly, but with great outspokenness, and in excellent perspective.

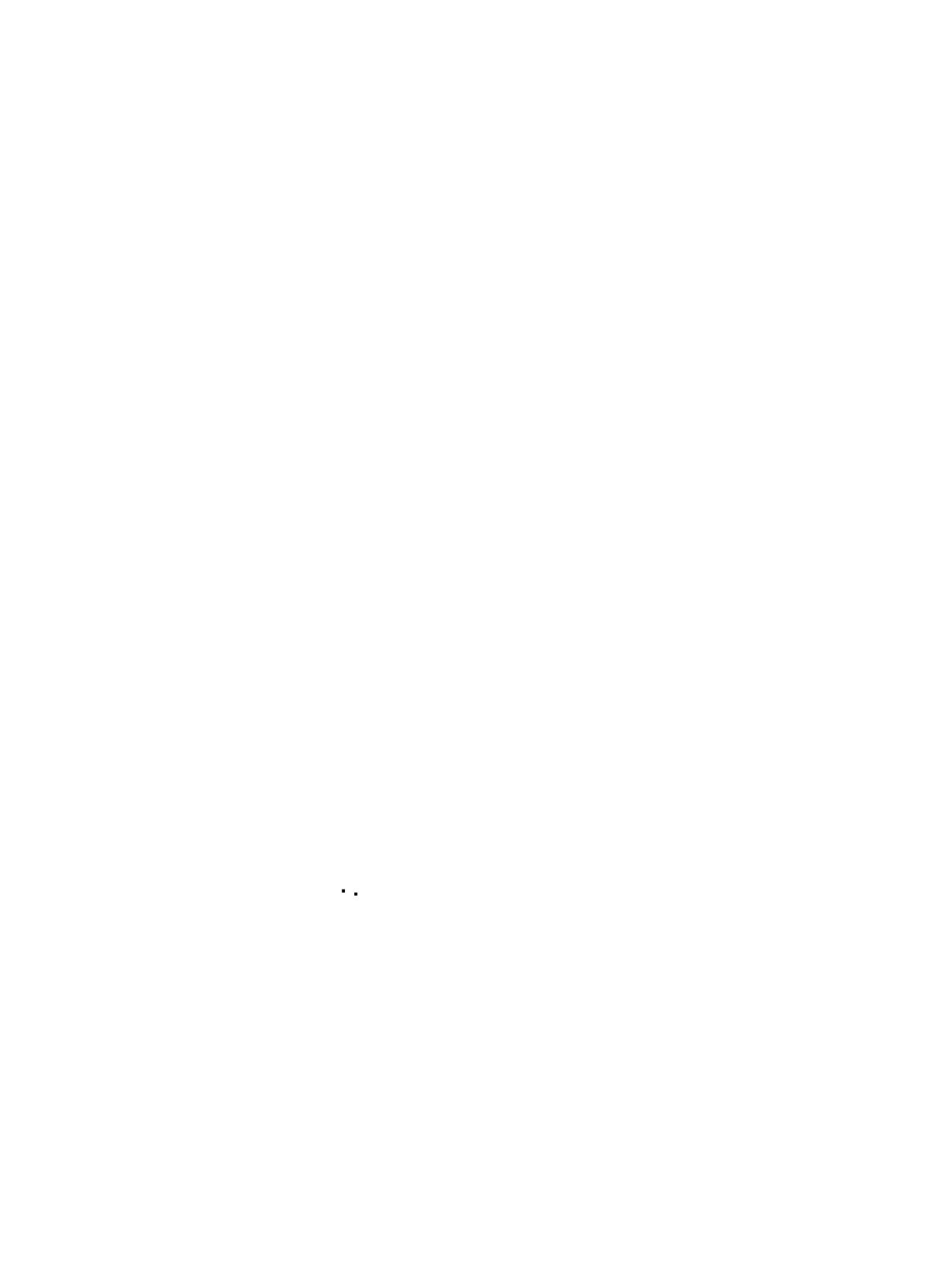
When it comes to modern times, the writer's strictures on German

policy are interesting. "The return of the smallest fraction of Africa, even in the form of a mandate, to Hitler would inevitably bring shame on the whole white civilized world." I am afraid Professor Lips is right. But I am even more afraid that the shameful catastrophe may occur. There is so much talk in England now about the need of placating the 'have-nots'; so much generosity on the part of the 'haves', and so much regarding of the Africans, educated and tribal, Christian and heathen, as though they were mere chattels whose lives, welfare, and happiness can be sold for some imaginary diplomatic advantage in Europe.

In Chapter II, we pass more definitely to pictorial art, and here the scholar will enjoy the clarity of the argument and the wealth of fact. But for the lay reader there is still the current of human interest running right throughout the book. It would be tedious as it would be unnecessary to summarize the details of the following chapters. As an ex-Melanesian I have found the chapter on ships perhaps the most fascinating. Many will be interested in that on European women.

The structure of the whole book shows a wise distribution of factual material. The Europeans are seen by the native in a professional capacity; as individuals and in mass-formation; as carriers of material culture, and as exponents of its spiritual worth. The chapter on missionaries in native art and ideology is of special value because it is an interesting contribution to the psychology of a new religion in process of being grafted on to a different culture. It is refreshing to find that the writer does not indulge in the cheap jokes against missionaries, so trite in ethnographic works. On the contrary, he shows that the Christian art of the savage 'primitive' has a dignity, grace, and theological depth almost comparable with the art of the Italian Primitives of the Quattrocento.

It is no exaggeration to say that, in giving this beautifully illustrated and richly documented Corpus of tangible, plastic, and decorative expressions of native opinion on the white world, Professor Lips has laid the foundations of a new approach to the most vexed problem of culture change and diffusion.



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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

THIS book makes no claim to be an exclusively scientific investigation, intelligible only to experts. It is addressed to all educated readers who are interested in finding out how the Western world and its civilization are mainly reflected in the art of primitive tribes. To complete this work I have made no appeal whatsoever to the funds of any Society, scientific or otherwise, for there are to-day other German Professors living outside Germany whose daily bread has to be provided through these funds.

I owe it to the initiative of Messrs. Lovat Dickson and my American publishers, the Yale University Press, that a considerable portion of my pictorial matter has been published. My desire would be to present the whole of the 650 original photographs, with comparative tables of the various primitive methods of artistic expression. The realization of this wish is not yet possible, unless the favourable reception of this book makes such a task practicable.

I should like to express my thanks for the unselfish help given me by the following institutions and individuals who assisted in the illustration of the work:

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 Moscow: Central Museum of Ethnology
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 Nuremberg: Naturhistorische Gesellschaft (Natural History Society)
 Ottawa: National Museum of Canada
 Paris: Musée d'Ethnographie, Palais du Trocadéro (Trocadéro Ethnographical Museum)
 Philadelphia, U.S.A.: The Museum of the University of Pennsylvania
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JULIUS E. LIPS

Columbia University
 New York City
 April, 1937

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Preface

THE STORY OF THIS BOOK

ABOVE Lake Chibougamau rises a steep cone-shaped mountain like the wizard-dwelling of the Shaman. "Conjurer's mountain" the Indians call it, "*cooshapachiken uachi.*" Occasionally a white man—perhaps the manager of the near-by Hudson Bay Company's post—has visited it, but never an Indian. Spirits and dwarfs dwell there, and *matci māntu*, the red man's devil, and the Wi'tigo, who frightens children. The man who hopes for good hunting will do well not to climb that mountain: the mink and the beaver might shun his traps, and Mack'w, the black bear, never come before his gun. No man would dare to camp upon those slopes, for dreams are heavy there, fraught with ill-hap, and filled with the battles of the ghosts. Sleep eludes a man.

All this was told me by the Indians when they brought to my tent the mail that was weeks overdue. In the mail I found a letter from my English publisher asking me to write an introduction to this book, describing its adventures before it appeared in print. This was not precisely pleasant news, for the months I had lived with the Indians in the woods and on the lakes of Labrador had made me forget the experiences I went through under the Third Reich for this book's sake. All that was past, the work should speak for itself; why should I speak for it? Besides, I thought it better to avoid climbing—even in dreams—the conjurer's mountain of Europe, to-day called Germany. The spirits and the ghosts there might set on to battle. For, indeed, it seemed to me sometimes that what had happened in Germany had all been a dream. In these bright Labrador nights the Redskin is not the only one to dream; the paleface too imagines things of anguish and of wizardry. When I thought of this, it seemed as though a Shaman had frightened me with his *mista'peo*, his wizard spirit. But this letter from the white man's world reminded me that it was all real and no dream fantasy. And the publisher is sometimes, even for an ethnologist, a mightier spirit than all the magic of Lake Chihougamau.

So I tried to recall my life in the world of Europe, and the more

I thought of it the more I felt that I owed my friends an apology. They had been very ready to help me collect the material for this book; it was undoubtedly my duty to explain the lateness of its appearance. Then, too, the history of the book began to interest me in itself, and this chapter became inevitable. I must confess that a year before it would have seemed to me to be the most important chapter of the whole work, for *The Savage Hits Back* was meant to have a twofold meaning. But in the familiar happiness of new work all my personal experience had become only a stage in the progress toward new knowledge which pointed, not back, but forward. Writing this chapter was a question not merely of recounting a personal experience and personal knowledge but of registering a historical occurrence, making a contribution to the story of the philosophy of violence which the Third Reich is employing against science and intellect and thinking men in general.

It is true that here in Labrador this kingdom of violence was as far removed as Ursa Major, the 'Fisher Star'. The Indians have no word for Germany, and no notion of the things which are going on there. It is too far away—that is what they think. Two of these Algonquian Indians fought in the Canadian contingent on the Western Front against Germany, that is, at that time, against me. They learnt the white man's arts of war, but far above these they value the feelings of justice and humanity that guide their own people. These Indians have become my best friends in America. I came, at the request of Columbia University, to collect and study their principles of law. And truly, in this sphere of law what a stretch it is from the barbarians of the Third Reich to the 'primitive' men of Labrador! What moral heights, what humanity, and what immemorial justice do the simple codes of the social life of these Indians show, compared with the new German law.

Reflecting on this, I realized that I had a duty. And so from my personal documents and experiences, I will tell the simple facts connected with this book.

Voyages of discovery into the territories of tribes the white man is all too ready to despise strengthened in me that modesty which is, especially for the ethnologist, a healthy virtue. And I was amazed at the countless times the white man had felt impelled to write his thoughts about the world of coloured peoples, and his own subjective appreciation and criticism of so-called primitive civilizations. There seemed to be no portion of the lives of these tribes that had not been investigated by a white explorer. It occurred to me that out of scientific curiosity and respect for the dignity and

individuality of these other peoples one might come down from the stage of civilization and mingle with the people who sat below in darkness, not only to look into their faces, but above all to listen to their speech, their jests, and their criticisms of the white man. True, these red, black, yellow, and olive faces looked upward to the white actors, but did they really think them gods? Not by any means. This modern Haroun-al-Raschid heard some astounding opinions of himself and his kind. Not only did he see the white man as a clown with sensitive feet and stunted instincts appearing in the black man's theatrical compositions, and hear the white man's peculiarities hurled at his coloured brother as terms of abuse, but he lived the life of these people. He followed the artist of the primeval forest and the steppe, of the islands and the savannas to his primitive studio, and there saw him shape with his simple tools his pictures of the white man; and these pictures were so devoid of pity, so sharp in their criticism and so true, that the onlooker was tempted to shroud his face before them. What he saw was unexpected, full of knavery and genius, and inexorable.

Understanding and fascination together brought to growth the idea of collecting the artistic work of coloured people who knew the white man—the work in which they recorded their comment with censure, buffoonery, astonishment, misunderstanding. The unknown artist should have his say at last, with the sky for his north light, and his tools a piece of wood or iron, a mussel shell, or a piece of ochre: I set to work to assemble a collection of pictures which would speak for this unknown artist, since for the most part he has no other writing. This would be his opportunity to take vengeance upon his colonizer, or to honour the white man's mode of living and blend it with the magic of his own world of ideas. Whatever the result, the dumb mouth and the wilderness should find voice. The savage hits back.

The years 1929 to 1932, I spent in journeys through Europe and Africa. My material accumulated and became more and more diverse. Collectors and museums the world over assisted me by readily placing at my disposal illustrations from their stocks of exhibits. And as 1932 drew to a close the process of collecting and examining was finished. The work could be begun.

The Savage Hits Back could not be published in my own country. For on 30th January, 1933, Herr Adolf Hitler, hailing from Bohemia, became Chancellor of the German Reich. This apparently merely political event affected every private life, every intellectual pursuit, and every German study, and caused, as we all know to-day, not only the distortion but sometimes the very annihilation of all German science. A few

weeks of this regime were to prove to every scholar that objective work upon any kind of scientific question, no matter what its nature, had become impossible. For the National Socialist State demanded of its officials not simple tolerance or loyalty, but 'totality'. It required that the books and acts of every scholar should take the officially established colour, and that a man who had hitherto been a good German and a citizen of the world should now become an active National Socialist. What this meant was soon announced by the new Rector of Frankfurt University, Ernst Krieck, who, as deputy of the Minister of Education, outlined the National Socialist educational programme: "The task of the universities is not to teach objective science, but the militant, the warlike, the heroic." The militant? The warlike? As a volunteer for my country I had formerly taught my soldiers at the front "the militant, the warlike, the heroic", and tried to set them an example. But as a German university professor I felt it my duty to teach my students knowledge, neither Protestant, Catholic, nor Jewish, neither French nor German, but knowledge in its struggle towards the understanding and exploration of the truth.

And then suddenly the trumpets of long-forgotten days rang out again, and the war cry of the incompetent and the noisy filled the country. Yet worse than that, there was lunacy. For the new Imperial Minister of Justice, Dr. Frank, pronounced the words of the rubric: "Hitler is lonely. So is God. Hitler is like God."

It became plain, however, that not Hitler alone was God: he had set up vest-pocket images of himself; these too were gods. They all had authority not only over the private life of the German people, but over their religion, their art, and their science. There was no compromise with such 'totality'. And surely, hardly any science had been so wounded as had mine, the science of anthropology, by the demands of a racial dogma, by the intolerant overestimation of one single family of speech. I preferred therefore in March, 1933, to lay down the offices that I held for life, the directorship of the Cologne Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum, and my professorship. Alas, I was the only 'Aryan' ethnologist to do so. For when it came to the decision which the representatives of my branch in particular had to make between the surrender of their position, and the surrender of their scientific honour, they made considerable haste to assure their material existence. Anyone who had thought that the ethics of university professors could be measured by a higher standard than that of the average job-holder found he was mistaken.

Among the intellectuals it was the men who had been unsuccessful professionally and were unstable in character who swam to the surface in the new crisis. The large majority of professors awaited immediate developments; their silence may perhaps be excused and explained by the psychology of the German scholar. But the active co-operation of the German intellectuals in the war waged by a political party upon humanity, justice, and truth, in other words upon civilization, will for ever remain a stain upon the white scutcheon of German science and the German nation. Even to-day I am convinced that a unanimous protest from the whole German professoriat, the teachers, artists, editors, and authors, combined with the immediate closing of the schools, universities, and art centres, would have prevented the Hitler government from coming into power. But the professors and intellectual bodies held their tongues. They proved unequal to the situation, which demanded a unanimous and total civil courage. They could muster only military courage, and no martial battlefield was available.

For this inaction the universities immediately had to pay. Their centuries-old constitutions and administrations, once their pride, were brought to an end, freedom to teach and to learn was annihilated, and the position of the professor as an official was abolished. He was degraded to the position of a jobbing-labourer in a political party, which could arbitrarily remove him to any other position. The Führer became the higher court, even in scientific and educational questions. On 1st May, 1935, he proclaimed to the German people: "My will shall be your creed."

This refusal of intellectual Germany to act is all part and parcel of the psychology of the German. The German soldier was courageous in the World War, but the German citizen proved himself a coward in 1933. The realization of their political instability was for most Germans themselves a surprise. But herein precisely lies the hope for the future, in the possibility of a sudden astonishing change in public opinion under definite conditions. The old German civilization is, after all, too healthy and too resistant to put up with Hitler's prophesied thousand years' kingdom of uncivilization. The people are well schooled to endure material hardships, but to the muzzling of the mind and the continued retrogression of civilized life they will not submit.

From now on the daily papers prescribed what was to be taught and what was to be believed, from the pulpit to the lecturer's desk. Professors were compelled, whether lecturing on the Euclidean conception of the world,

on narcosis, or the Minnesang, to begin and end their lectures by raising the right arm and repeating "*Heil Hitler!*"

Happy was the man who possessed a house, an island of peace in the midst of the babel of new slogans. For any man who wished to live for science in those days could do nothing but withdraw to the silence of his own study and there work upon problems which had nothing to do with the noise of marching feet. This was what I had done, and before me lay completed this collection of pictures, testimony to an honourable contemplation and appreciation of the spirit of man in every continent and people.

But outside was 'totality', and if any man undertook to avoid it he was hunted out of his shell, threatened, if authority required it, deprived of the necessities of life, and allowed no peace till he crawled to the cross or was extinguished.

In my case they began by forbidding me the use of all public libraries, and by withholding from me my private scientific books which were in the Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum. My successor as director there was one of my own students, not yet a graduate. After Hitler seized power, this man appeared in the role of an old partisan of the Nazi party, and at once began with fine talent to represent the total state. His execution of the Nazi programme first found expression in an order forbidding me to enter the museum, the scene of my long years of work. He assisted me with my private correspondence by personally opening and reading letters addressed to me, and at times actually answering them, after which he omitted to hand the letters to me. I protested to the Minister of Education in Berlin against this interception and was informed that the Minister "sees no possibility of and no cause for interfering in the matter in question". My colleagues abroad who were surprised at my apparent want of courtesy in employing my secretary to answer their letters will have learned by now that a non-Nazi in Germany has no right to correspond on scientific questions with friends in other lands.

It interested me to watch the increase of such characters as this new director and to see that the mania for being a good Nazi literally transformed the German world overnight, even affecting the most fundamental feelings of moral decency, respect for science, and respect for self.

My reactions to nightly attempts at my conversion by experts in the art of persuasion exasperated the authorities. All I desired from the Third Reich was peace for my work. But it became a point of Nazi honour to break

my spirit. There were anonymous and threatening telephone calls, letters, official summonses to the police, and house visitations.

So I was hardly surprised when one day in March, 1933, another of my former students, who was applying for a job in the museum, appeared at my home accompanied by the State Secret Police, to confiscate the material for *The Savage Hits Back*. This student knew all about this property of mine; he had, in fact, as my assistant, helped to mount the pictures. In the name of the Nazi State he required me to deliver up immediately my scientific material, inasmuch as the idea of the proposed work was contrary to the racial theories of the Führer, and the cardboards on which the pictures had been mounted came from the museum and therefore belonged to it. All this he imparted in brusque military tones, in the house where for years he had enjoyed hospitality; and he added that I was also to give up the articles I had for the fifth volume of *Ethnologica*, as he was to take over the editorship of this periodical from me. There he stood before me, speaking his lines in my study, attended by uniformed representatives of the State Secret Police armed with the Swastika. But it was curious that the teacher's old powers of suggestion were still strong enough to show this swaggering youth a way to the door with his purpose unaccomplished. For the theft of my own intellectual property was the last thing to which I was resolved to submit at the hands of this Government.

I have often asked myself why the interest of these two students was so abnormally concentrated on wresting these illustrations from me, and why to achieve this they invoked the help of their party and of the State machinery. In the museum itself there were already some blocks of the pictures, and many duplicates of the original photographs. Of course what they did not possess was my scientific working-up of the illustrations, and this was probably—as was the case with the issue of the *Ethnologica*—all they really wanted, for up to that date they had no personal scientific results of any kind to show. This seemed to be an opportunity to steal the work of their teacher.

That they should receive the willing co-operation of the Nazi party, and with it that of the State is perfectly intelligible, if we consider the general attitude of the Third Reich to the 'non-Aryan' world. A black man's head, even in an ancient coat of arms such as that of Coburg, was replaced by the Government with a sword and swastika. A wrestling match with a black man in Nuremberg was forbidden by Herr Streicher, and pilloried as a "shame upon the race", and an "appeal to the lower instincts". Consequently

an uproar was produced by the simple fact that a Cologne professor had lying in his house a manuscript the theme of which was the criticism of the white race by their coloured brethren. In addition there were among the illustrations portraits of high German military and Government officials which were the work of blacks, one of the 'lower races'. The mere possession of the pictures was a crime against the State, how much more criminal the attempt to publish them!

It may, however, be that such gross cases as those of these two job-hunting students were infrequent in academic life. My other pupils—and these were in the overwhelming majority—by petitions to ministries and risk of their own persons showed unceasing and touching proof of their attachment. But many other German university professors have had similar unpleasant experiences, always with some student with an inferiority-complex, some assistant who had received special help, and who interpreted such help as weakness. Men with a diseased ambition, who had been handicapped by physical or mental deficiencies, had suffered from overtension, and degenerated morally, thought this the right moment to compensate their inferiority. They sought to copy the hysterical manner of their master. The Nazi slogan itself, "The common weal before one's own," was in many respects only a means to achieve thoroughly personal and deplorable advantages. The philosophy and the conception of the State held by Genghis and Kublai Khan had triumphed, and the compass of their despotism was only a few degrees greater than that of the three moguls in Berlin.

But it was useless to reflect on the collapse of German civilization and principle. I had to come to an understanding with facts and draw my logical conclusions from them. When, therefore, on the day following the visit of my former student, officials of the State Secret Police again made a forcible entry into my home to rob me of the data which conceded the black man a human personality and in fact critical power, I had already taken measures to insure that not a single illustration should be within their reach, and that the manuscripts for *Ethnologica* which had been intrusted to me should be returned to their authors. The police left my house with threats.

Similar experiences of scientists and artists I knew left me completely convinced that I was only at the beginning of a deep-laid scheme of chicanery. I had dared to defend my personal property against the total State. My disobedience had become a question involving the prestige of the local Nazi-party organization.

And indeed every manner of annoyance followed; but every menace, every oppression, and every robbery was accompanied by an assurance that the persecution would cease if I would give up the pictures. So it happened that the title of this book became the motto of my life. The illustrations were safe, and my determination to defend them was irrevocable, even if I myself in persisting became a 'Savage'.

From now on I frequently had the pleasure of greeting officials of the State Secret Police in my home. On one occasion their pretext was a search for arms, on another they confiscated a great part of my reference library. My colleagues in anthropology will be interested to learn that among the books dangerous to the State were Schmidt-Koppers's ethnological *Streitschrift* and Leopold von Wiese's little publication *Die Soziologie des Dorfes*. Added to this came the final loss of my special library which I had built up in the museum, my African photographs, and many ethnological objects that were my private property. And yet the loss of property, however vitally important and irreplaceable, was easier to endure than the calumnies and denunciations—weapons against which I was not accustomed to fight. When I was next invited to appear in the office of the State Secret Police, a number of crumpled leaves from a calendar were handed to me, which the new director of the museum had picked out of the waste-paper basket in my office and clipped together. On these slips were notes of appointments and telephone calls which, as director of the museum, I had had with leading men in old Cologne. This was part of a modest attempt to convict me of treasonable opinions and was accompanied by the renewed command to deliver the illustrated material for *The Savage*.

Leaving the police station a little depressed, and returning home, I found on my desk a fresh summons to appear before another sub-group of the same authorities, and over the week-end once again had to give an account of myself to the State Secret Police at their central office.

On this occasion I was greeted with "How long have you been a Communist?" and a pamphlet issued by the Communist *Rote Hilfe* was thrust at me, which they alleged had been found in my home during one of their last visits. When I remained cool and unmoved, it came out that this was a trick commonly employed with refractory brain-workers. When I left them, it was not without some inward elation.

I must confess that I had pictured my seclusion under the Third Reich somewhat differently. I thought my attitude had been honest enough, and that I should be allowed at least peace for my work. But this idea of the

illustrations had become a semi-official mania; although only the students had seen them, it was now the State, i.e. the Nazi party, that wanted them. When in course of time the State Secret Police manœuvres had proved too clumsy, it was decided to retain the criminal methods, but not to leave them in the hands of indifferent policemen ; power was to be given to those who had a private interest in my 'annihilation'. Chief of these was the mayor of Cologne whose efforts to convert me to Nazi use had so far proved inadequate.

His strategy was different from that of the police. The material for his proceedings, the necessary expert and personal knowledge, he secured through the two students he had pushed into jobs. He had cultivated a feverish curiosity about the vanished pictures, which were supposed to be lurid with "nigger atrocities" and "insults to Hitler".

His first demand for the surrender of my property I ignored. So he wrote me a letter in which appeared the dangerous sentence: "The administration of the city of Cologne considers your conduct to be sabotage." This last word can be fully appreciated only by those who were in Germany in the year 1933, and who know that not far from this word rose the concentration camp. My friends had already advised me to leave the country at once. But a man does not so easily quit the land in which he has taken root, and he may refuse to yield to injustice and threats. I remained.

Of course, scientific work had been out of the question for a long time, but I was tempted to stake my own person on my rights. I was inquisitive, too, about the structure and the continuity of these methods of persecution. My curiosity was soon to be satisfied. For now in the name of the Nazi State itself a public accusation was launched against me.

I was the criminal, the scene of my criminal action the lavatory of a beer garden, the official co-plaintiff the student and museum director. It was sworn that in this place I had told an acquaintance that the new director of the Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum was an 'idiot'. The man who claimed to have heard this ran to a go-between; the go-between ran to the museum. Here, in conference, it was decided that this was an insult not to a student and museum director, put in office by the State, but to the State itself. The conspirators hurried to the town hall, where they obtained the necessary moral support—and later came the public accusation in the name of the Nazi State.

Though these charges were grotesque, the situation was quite dangerous, and I owe it to fortunate circumstances that on appeal I won this

case, after having been condemned in the lower court to pay a very heavy fine. The reason for quashing the sentence was that the witness for the State was a lavatory attendant who had obviously been bribed and that there happened to be a gentleman on the Bench.

I hoped for peace now, and breathed more freely, especially as I had at last received confirmation of my official dismissal from the post of museum director, in accordance with paragraph 4 of the well-known law dealing with the reinstatement of professional officials. This paragraph is sufficiently interesting to be quoted here, since every individual case in which it was employed involved a breach of the Constitution protecting the rights of officials, which Hitler solemnly swore to Hindenburg to obey. During Hitler's Government thousands of life-officials have been dismissed under this paragraph:

"Officials whose previous activities do not offer the assurance that they will invariably and without reserve support the National State may be dismissed. Their usual salary will be paid to them for a period of three months after dismissal. After three months they will receive three-quarters of their pension and the relevant family dependants' pensions."

According to this paragraph which established the grounds for my dismissal, and which, since it was intended for publication, had a certain ring of truth about it, I was entitled to a pension, on which I proposed to live quietly in my own home. Soon, however, a telephone call from a high Nazi quarter (telephoning instead of writing was part of the technique) informed me that all persecutions would end at once if I would voluntarily renounce the pension and give up my hidden "Nigger pictures, which were a crime against the race".

So starvation was going to join robbery. I was assured that I should be allowed to starve in peace, and that was not a concession to be sneezed at. But I was nevertheless obstinate enough to say no, and again, no. I had studied law and, in consequence, the old superstition concerning the primacy of justice was still too strongly rooted in me for me to be willing to abandon it.

Consequently my persecutors had no course left but to prepare for the general attack. Their rather miserable imagination had previously extended only to a lavatory, and the modest figure of a former student supposed to have been insulted by me. Now they played their highest card. This time I was alleged, not to have attacked any small Nazi, not to have laid hands upon the authority of the State, but to have violated the omniscient person of God himself, governing a universe of swastika planets.

At last they had hit on the right inspiration, and they solemnly swore before the authorities that in a course of lectures in the winter of 1932 I had publicly said: "Adolf Hitler ought to be hounded out of Germany with a horsewhip."

In the winter of 1932, Adolf Hitler was, as a matter of fact, not sufficiently interesting to find his name in any course of lectures on "Society and law among primitive tribes", even in a marginal note; and moreover the sentence was not even invented by those who denounced me, but by the former president of the Berlin Police, and at a very much later date when it was more applicable.

But in any case it was too late now for discussions of fact. The oath had been taken. The situation was critical. The date was fixed for the trial. I had decided to appear, and should have done so, had not a telephone call from a man who had been left in his high office by the Nazis conveyed to me an explicit and well-grounded warning. I realized that there was no point in joining this battle; any defence would be about as useful as telling a highwayman that he is doing wrong. I decided to leave my house at once, leave my town and my country, and seek a place in the world where I might live on my knowledge. I went to Paris.

The following day they appeared to arrest me. When, after repeated visits, they could find neither the pictures nor me, they contented themselves with keeping my wife as a hostage for the production of the manuscript, appointing a day for compliance, and forbidding her to leave the town.

Regard for the safety of my friends forbids a description here of the journey which the illustrations in this book had to take before they reached my hands. But at last they were safe. I had, in my hotel room in the Quartier Latin, the chest which contained my treasure: and these pictures that had before been the building stones for a new work now became the starting point and foundation of a new life. They remained with me in Paris until the day that I started for New York to take up an invitation to teach in Columbia University. This determined the publication of my book in English. The pictures accompanied me to London, where I found in Lovat Dickson a friend who, without reading a line of my future book, concluded a publishing contract with me.

My wife succeeded in leaving the Third Reich, and followed me to a country which does not put barbed wire around the brains of its intellectual men. One thing, however, neither she nor I could do—rescue my pension to which I was entitled even by the Nazi laws.

In Paris I saw street scenes with which I was only too familiar, citizens firing on their fellows. In London I learnt to recognize that the best form of government is the one which is least in evidence. On that very 1st May, 1934, on which Hitler made millions of German citizens who had been despoiled of their rights march past him in military step, the *Majestic* sailed into New York harbour. I waited with impatience to see the country whose democracy seems to me to be the strongest bulwark against the nascent European despotism of a new Middle Ages, and I thought of the sentence from the Declaration of Independence: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness." These were more than symbols for me.

"Will you never go to bed, Iraquai?" Wa.pachioo, the 'Very Old', asked me. The candle was flickering and would soon drop into its little lake of melted wax.

Iraquai was the name the Indians had given me, the Smoker; and the tent was filled with the heavy fumes of innumerable cigars. Next door, under the guard of old Chenocum of the Tête-de-Boule tribe, slept my comrade, the hostage for the pictures of a distant book—*The Savage Hits Back*.

Wa.pachioo flung back the flap of the tent; we stepped out into the brilliant night. The air was pure and cold. Above us streamed the northern lights with their three-fold crown of short vertical lines of stars.

"What are the greatest blessings in your life?" I asked the old man, and he answered without hesitation, "Peace, freedom, and justice." He turned his gaze anxiously away from the summit of the conjurer's mountain, looked at me, and asked:

"And to-morrow, Iraquai, shall we again talk of law?"

"Yes, Wa.pachioo. To-morrow we will again talk of law and justice."

And then we lay down upon the bearskin, covered ourselves with the rabbit-skin blanket and waited for the dreams that the Heavens of Labrador should send us.

Chapter I

WHITE MAN, WHITHER BOUND?

LONG before Europe sent forth her emissaries in history to discover and capture the coloured world, that world had pent the white man in his own land. The age of discovery was, after all, but the bursting of the chain which the coloured world had put round the white, and round Europe. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the Crusades attempted to burst this chain, hoping to restore the connection with the East, with India, and China, and put an end to the lucrative Arab carrying-trade, but the attempt failed. The road to the East in the age of great discoveries was barred all the way from the Baltic to the Bosphorus.

The fall of the Teutonic order at Tannenberg (1410), the conquest of Rome's Eastern Empire, or rather of the Latin Empire, and the taking of Constantinople by the Turkish Sultan Mahomed II (1453) made all advance on the road to the East impossible. On the contrary, Europe, that is the Christian world of those days, threw up defences in its own land to meet the pressure from the East and South-East.

Spain, in the South-West, was the advance guard of the coloured world, the Mahomedan Kingdom of the Almohades extended to the Tagus, and the mouth of the Ebro, and it was not till 1492, the year of the discovery of America, that Moorish Granada fell into the hands of Isabella and Ferdinand after eleven years' fighting. But the Spaniards did not push forward beyond the pillars of Hercules into Africa, for the path of expansion into the Dark Continent was also closed. Right from the beginning it was the political star that acted as guide, and the economic situation which supplied the impulse for the voyagers of the Age of Discovery.

The dawn of the trading spirit in Western and Southern Europe, strengthened by reports from Marco Polo and Ibn Batuta concerning the legendary treasures of India, Cathay, and the Malay Archipelago, induced Portuguese and Spaniards, whose countries lay on the fringe of the unknown Atlantic, to sail to regions unexplored. For it was the greed of gain, not the desire to learn about foreign tribes, which determined the trade expeditions of the early Age of Discovery to undertake the perils of a sea voyage where their ships had never sailed. The coasts of the

Mediterranean eastward and southward were in the hands of foes, but the path of the ocean beckoned to the mysterious beyond, and promised the possibility of reaching the fabulous treasures of India.

These voyages of discovery now beginning would, of course, have been impossible without the use of the ship's compass, which had already been used by Chinese seamen in the fourth century, and first reached Europe through Arab hands at the end of the twelfth, coming into general use in the fifteenth. But the conquests that succeeded discovery, especially the struggles against Arabs, Indians, and Chinese, would have failed but for the employment of gunpowder, muskets, and artillery. The conditions which led to the voyages of the Age of Discovery were, therefore, threefold, the economic impulse, the technical possibilities, and the direction taken by those voyages, which was fixed by the political map of the world during that epoch.

As early as 1471 the Portuguese on their voyages had passed south of the line on the coast of Africa, and in 1488 Bartholomew Diaz sailed round the Cape of Good Hope. In 1498 Vasco da Gama actually reached the East Indies, and in rapid succession came the discovery of Malacca (1511), South China (1516), New Guinea (1526), and Japan (1542). About the same time as the voyage to the East Indies, the continent of America to the West was reached by Giovanni Caboto (John Cabot) and Columbus. During the first half of the sixteenth century, when the white world was pressing eastwards to Japan, New Spain and Peru in the West were gained by Spanish conquest, and at the time when Cortez was overrunning the kingdom of the Aztecs, Magellan completed the first voyage round the world.

This broke the chain that had bounded the white world eastward and southward. Within half a century the pioneers of the white race had, for the first time in human history, circumnavigated the globe, come into contact with all the coloured races of the world, and brought home tidings of distant worlds and civilizations, and the treasures of the Arabian Nights. Actually it was the treasures of these distant worlds that were sought; the coloured inhabitants and their land were a much later goal. When the Western world heard the news that for the first time spices had arrived in Portugal without passing through traders' hands, that is direct from the East Indies, the prices of nutmegs, cinnamon, and ginger fell by 50 per cent on the Venetian exchange, which in those days was the commercial trade centre (Prescott, Morris). The world of those newly-discovered treasures was, by the verdict of Alexander VI, the contemporary Pope, and by the

Treaty of Tordesillas in the year 1494, divided between Spain and Portugal, after which in 1529 the Treaty of Saragossa extended the partition to the Pacific Ocean. Spain and Portugal, which had till now played barely any part in world history, had become centres of historical activity. The trade monopolies of the Italian city states, and of Genoa in particular, were broken, the Mediterranean had sunk in importance to an inland sea, Portuguese and Spanish harbours were now the starting points and termini of the new oversea trade routes. It was from here that spices, silk, rare woods, silver and other coveted precious metals found their way to the commercial towns of Central Europe.

Other states situated on the rim of the Atlantic Ocean were forced, by the economic and political situation, to join the new competitive struggle, take energetic part in the division of the new world, and pierce the trade monopoly of the Iberian States. In the sixteenth century attempts were made in the North, by Dutchmen and Englishmen, to find a free passage to the treasures of Eastern and Southern Asia, the chief names being Frobisher (1576), John Davis (1587), Henry Hudson (1610), and finally Francis Drake who, in the years 1577-1580, was the first Englishman to sail round the world. Thus arose struggles with Spaniards and Portuguese, in which France also participated. From the end of the sixteenth century to the Napoleonic wars the colonial policy of the white race is chiefly noticeable for the various struggles of the European powers to secure possession of the newly-discovered territory. Sometimes this struggle developed into friendly trade competition, but as a rule it involved war.

The thrust for the West Indies usually produced the clash of arms, while the trading companies of the East Indies and the Malay Archipelago began by friendly competition, but very soon abandoned this method for war. It was the Dutch, and the English more especially, who broke the Portuguese trade monopoly by establishing the Anglo-East India Company (1600), and the Dutch East India Company (1602), thus opening the way to further voyages of discovery by their mariners. The most valuable results of these voyages were the discovery of a new continent, Australia (New Holland, 1605), by William Jansz, and of Tasmania and New Zealand in 1642 by Abel Tasman.

England remained the final victor in the struggle for these new worlds. First of all she subdued Spain with her victory over the Spanish Armada (1588), then the Netherlands in the seventeenth century, and France in the eighteenth, taking from these countries the greater part of their oversea

possessions, so that at the time of the Congress of Vienna the empires of Spain, Holland, and France, which once girdled the world, had dwindled almost to insignificance. The relation of the white race to the coloured world during this period remained constant, that of the exploiter to his prey, though differences in the colonial policy of the individual European nations are clearly discernible.

The colonial history of these centuries is written in crimes of blood, treachery, and deceit, committed by the white nations against their coloured subjects, and assuredly Pope Paul III was making no empty gesture when compelled in 1537 to issue a decree that 'savages' were human beings and not creations of the devil. The terms 'monopolistic' and later 'mercantile' or 'material' colonial policy are only different names for the completely similar exploitation of the coloured races, which was guided solely by the powerful competition between conquering nations. The paramount object of the actual conqueror was to turn the treasures of the coloured peoples to good account, but in a short time this further necessitated exploitation of native labour and finally the occupation of their land by white settlers.

These newly discovered countries, however, were not empty spaces permitting easy settlement; they were the homes of coloured men. The climate, too, imposed stern limits upon the white man. The general result was that every policy of settlement and colonization was most successful in places where it encountered numerically least resistance. In the east, the white peoples actually succeeded only in the continent of Australia, in Tasmania, and in New Zealand. These territories contained a relatively sparse population, and the cultural traditions of the natives (excluding those of New Zealand) were on a very low level. The repression, or even the complete decay, of the native population (as in Tasmania) was due chiefly to the low cultural level of these natives, and to their scanty numbers. In India, and Eastern and Southern Asia, which possessed highly advanced civilizations, white races found it impossible to settle in masses. The reason for this was, in addition to the density of the population, that the advanced native civilization and political organization produced a greater power of resistance. Among the yellow races the white element was and has remained in a hopeless minority, nor has any noteworthy blending of yellow and white arisen to balance the position.

Thus the current of white emigration, if we except South Africa, went westwards, towards the New World. Here again the white race was most successful where the climate was best, and where, owing to the small

numbers of the native population together with a relatively low cultural level, it encountered least resistance: in the territory of the northern United States, and Canada, and in southern South America. The colonial settlement question was solved in the main by the decay or decimation of the natives, which left the fresh settlers room for their own economic activities. But Latin America, as we shall see later, never became a white man's land. One reason among several was that in Mexico, and the Andes regions of South America especially, the numerous Indian inhabitants defied extermination, and their civilization at the date of the conquest was exceedingly advanced; a second reason was the economic system of *latifundia* which Europe employed in that epoch. This system required a large amount of foreign labour, and neither the Indians of the West Indies nor those of Central and South America were suitable. They died like flies.

Then came the Indians' great friend, Father Las Casas, who had himself observed the mortality among the Indians in the West Indies plantations, with a proposal to the Pope and the Spanish Court to introduce negro labour upon the *latifundia*. It is true that before his intervention, as early as 1502, isolated negro slaves had reached the West Indies, coming first of all from West Africa to Spain where they were baptized. Through the efforts of Las Casas, Flemish merchants received from Charles V, in 1517, the privilege of importing slaves to America, and from this date onwards through the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries the trade in black men flourished. It was chiefly the Portuguese, Dutch, and English who reaped the profits, and used them to consolidate the prosperity of their own countries. Africa had become a warehouse for trade in black men, but the white races were not interested in the interior of the continent. They were satisfied with the occupation of the export harbours, to which they brought beads, arms and alcohol, loading the vessels with outgoing cargo of living blacks for shipment to the countries of America, and returning with double earnings to their European harbours where they unloaded the produce of the American plantations. Africa south of the great desert, from Cape Verde to the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb, from the coast of Mozambique to the harbours of Northern Angola, had become a feeder for America.

The ups and downs on the Exchanges of Western Europe were the results of successes in the slave traffic, and the shares of the slaving companies stood at a premium; the most profitable business any white man could have was an interest in the profits of such a company—the

transport of black slaves to America ran into unreckoned millions. In one century alone, from about 1680 to 1780, England exported nearly two and a quarter million slaves to America. The stimulus given by Las Casas led to the depopulation of the Dark Continent, and the creation in America of a colour problem the solution of which can hardly be expected in our present age. Reaction against the slave trade and the movement for the abolition of slavery began among the Quaker farmers settled in Pennsylvania and in 1727 they raised for the first time the question of Abolition. But not till half a century later, in 1776, did the English Parliament take up the Abolition question, nor was it till the 1st of May, 1807, that slavery became illegal for England by the Abolition of Slavery Act. France followed suit in 1816, Spain in 1817, Portugal in 1823, the U.S.A. in 1865, and Brazil in 1888. The millions of pounds which Europe had received from the sale of 'black ivory' suddenly ceased to come in when slavery was abolished. The human warehouse that Africa had provided for Europe went bankrupt. Production had to be reorganized, since the goods hitherto sold were no longer obtainable. Not till then did the white man seek to cover his losses, in a continent which lay directly against Europe, and had for centuries been nothing but a huge slave reservoir, by acquiring other treasures from the black man. The white man now coveted the negro's soil.

The extinction of slavery actually led to the partition of Africa. In 1876 only 10 per cent of the Dark Continent was in white occupation, i.e. France, Spain, England, and Portugal together owned 1,270,000 square miles of the whole of Africa, the area of which is 11,500,000 square miles. In 1885 25 per cent, in 1912 95 per cent, and in 1936 97 per cent of the Dark Continent was controlled by whites, and since the annexation of Abyssinia not more than one quarter of one per cent of Africa remains free (Middleton). But even under these conditions the powers of Europe still treated the territories and peoples of the Dark Continent as mere pawns on the imperial chessboard. It is interesting to note that in the Berlin Act, which played an important part in the division of Africa and was ratified by all nations except the U.S.A. and Turkey, exactly 200 words were devoted to the natives of Africa, though the complete document contains 60,000 words. These 200 words were in no way concerned with the black man's rights, but devoted chiefly to slavery and the repression of the slave traffic.

It was comparatively late, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, that Germany, and later still Italy, entered the colonial field, to assure

themselves a share in the small fraction of the coloured world still open to partition. Germany had, it is true, already made the attempt and sought her portion of the treasures from the newly discovered colonies ; Charles V bestowed Venezuela (1528) upon the German Bank and Trading House of the Welser, and the great Prince Elector of Brandenburg made a strong effort to obtain colonies on the West African Gold Coast (1683). Both moves, however, soon failed, and Bismarck's policy was completely opposed to acquisitions overseas. His endeavour, on the contrary, was to divert France to colonial acquisition in order to remove her from the Rhenish frontier after the disastrous war of 1870. Thus it came about that France did not make her extended grab, in Africa especially, till after 1870, and her actions for the most part received Bismarck's positive support. From the eighties on Germany obtained a firm hold in Africa and the South Seas, securing in rapid succession Togoland, S.W. Africa, German East Africa, the Cameroons, parts of New Guinea, Samoa, and the Caroline, Marianne, and Marshall Islands.

Germany's relations with her coloured subjects were neither better nor worse than those of other colonial nations. Scandals, brutality, revolts, and their quelling, occurred in regions of German possession neither less nor more frequently than where other nations ruled. Lewin's books, which appeared during the War and dealt with German colonization in Africa, were, of course, written under a strong War influence. When Germany's former colonial territory was at its greatest extent, its area was 1,030,150 square miles, that is five times the area of Germany, or one-third that of the U.S.A. The population consisted of 18,000 Germans and 12,500,000 natives. The Treaty of Versailles admittedly excluded Germany from any share in the coloured world. To-day, after three years of Hitler's Government, a campaign of noisy propaganda is afoot with considerable weight behind it for the recovery of the former colonies. General von Epp and the former Governor of East Africa, Dr. Schnee, and, quite recently, Herr von Ribbentrop and Dr. Schacht are the leading spirits. The master himself, however, has pronounced his mind, not only in *Mein Kampf*, but even on 5th August, 1934, to the English journalist Ward Price: "I would not sacrifice the life of any German to get any colony in the world." His goal is the Eastern cavalcade, not the regaining of African colonies, which to him, who has barely passed beyond the frontiers of Germany, must be only a hazy conception. But here, too, as in so many cases, there is a sharp distinction in Nazi policy between words and deeds.

For the Leader's representative, Herr Hess, is already, for purposes of propaganda, twisting the master's words to mean exactly the contrary. Not only in Germany, but in all regions colonized by Germany, the Nazi propaganda provides a continual danger to the *status quo*. It is quite diverting to listen to the slogan with which one of the leaders of this colonial movement in Germany enriches his speeches to the ignorant masses after speaking of Germany's need of colonies: "We require labour and bread for the masses of our countrymen, and we mean to procure a large proportion of this bread and labour in our colonies." For even in 1913 there were only 24,000 German settlers in the whole of her colonies, and the official Nazi Party admits that if all the German colonies were given back there would be room only for 100,000 Germans.

The same arguments are trumpeted to the world from Rome. The Abyssinian campaign was largely engineered by propaganda of which the main argument was that Italy's over-population rendered the acquisition of Italian colonies imperative. But even the *Instituto di Statistica* has to admit that in all the Italian colonies of Africa taken together there are only 57,000 Italians, most of them being officials and soldiers. There are only 2,900 farmers, and of these 1,360 are in Tripoli, 256 in Cyrenaica, 200 in Somaliland, and 84 in Eritrea—after all these years of occupation. Any one who knows the Fascist and the Nazi dogma will not find it hard to visualize what relations would exist, under a Nazi government, between Germans and their coloured subjects. The situation would again be the same as in the days of the slave trade, when white men regarded themselves as the only human beings. The return of the smallest fraction of Africa, even in the form of a mandate, to Hitler would inevitably be an affront to the whole white civilized world. It would produce a situation more terrible for the coloured races under domination than Musa Dagh's forty days; it would have results similar to those which attended the notorious ukase of the Turkish General Staff during the World War, ordering the evacuation of Armenia, and the abduction of the Armenians into the desert. The Nazi Press makes no concealment of its attitude to the coloured world. Its leading paper considers the abolition of slavery to be a grievous mistake. Abraham Lincoln, it states, was misled by the cotton industrialists of the north who were under the Jewish thumb.

More valuable still are the official announcements of the National Socialists with regard to their future colonial policy. "The new conceptions resulting from racial thinking are based on the standpoint that the white

man, by virtue of his natural position in the world, stands above the coloured man, and is, therefore, beyond possibility of argument, called to colonial government. This does not exclude the education and training of the coloured world by the white, but forbids such a goal if its intention is finally to give the coloured world and the white equal privileges." (Busch-Zantner). A further announcement outlines a future Nazi policy with the words: "By virtue of the natural superiority of the white races, it is their right and their duty, by favourably qualitative and quantitative measures, to adjust the coloured races as a given and irreplaceable labour force . . . and thus to achieve the thorough domination of the earth by the white races." To yield to the colonial demands of the Nazi Government would then be tantamount to sentence of death or slavery for the colonies entrusted to the Nazis. No European statesman can shoulder that responsibility.

The Nazi attitude towards colonies is fortunately not that of the other governments and nations of the white race, though it was not till after the War that a decisive transformation set in. During the peace discussions of Versailles, when the apportionment of the Mandates came before the Conference, its members forgot to consult the inhabitants of the powerful regions that were now changing their masters. The Treaty of Versailles itself, like the earlier conferences of Brussels and Berlin, came dangerously near dealing with the negro races as though they were mere objects under discussion. But at this point, in 1919, the French called a pan-African Congress in Paris, under the presidency of the black deputy for Senegal, M. Diagne, who later became Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies. This Congress concluded with the acceptance of a fairly colourless and general resolution, but it proposed a permanent colonial secretariat in the League of Nations, and expressed some further demands for the protection of native rights.

Leading statesmen of the white nations are, of course, fully aware of the urgency of the present problems, particularly since the collapse of native civilization and life caused by the white penetration of Africa. The protest against antiquated methods of colonization sprang from the study of ethnology, and was scientifically grounded upon numerous works, but would never have been able to convince the governments of the nations concerned had not the post-War developments of an economic, political, and cultural order in Africa, America, and Eastern Asia, by the legitimacy of their position, forced European governments to alter their point of view.

In addition, since the beginning of the twentieth century, the parties of the Left in individual countries have energetically espoused the cause of their coloured brethren in subject countries, and have, in so far as they could, pleaded for fair play. The struggle is chiefly directed against the imperialistic exploitation of natives: it is conducted with increasing intensity by the best brains in England, Holland, and France, and has strongly influenced all governmental measures. General Smuts, the hard-headed old statesman of the Union of South Africa, recently summed up his programme of policy towards the natives in the words: "Fair play, justice, and the customary Christian virtues should form the basis of all our relations with the black population." The Dutchman, De Kat Angelino, puts the point even more incisively: "The key to every colonial policy lies in the appreciation of the essential solidarity of humanity as a whole, and in the elimination of racial pride."

While the relation of the white to the coloured world down the centuries has been that of exploiter and exploited, the coloured world has, in its different branches and at different periods, pronounced varying sentence upon the white man. The relation of the coloured man to the white shows stronger differences than its reverse. The first appearance of the white man in tribal territory produced astonishing emotions—excitement such as we might feel if we were suddenly to meet, in Trafalgar Square or Times Square, beings who had descended from Mars. Many of the primitive tribes (e.g. Kwakiutl, Maidu, Tlingkit, Inuit, Tsimshan, Bantu, Wule, Manfu, and others) applied the term 'men' to their own tribe only; all others, even those of the same colour, who were not members of the tribe, were not men; and so beings of another colour had even less claim to such a title. In America, Africa, and Australia it is very common to find legends which consider the white man to be a tribal member returned from the Kingdom of the Dead, usually as a tribal hero or God who was loaded with supreme honours.

Far-reaching political results have, from time to time, been based upon these or similar legends, as is shown in the conquest of Mexico by Cortez. It was undoubtedly the legend of the return of Quetzalcouatl which decided the irresolute Montezuma against attacking the whites. Whether in Quetzalcouatl we can demonstrate the clear conception of a God is still a matter of scientific dispute. Probably he is a conglomerate of manifold shapes. He came, according to legend, from the North, instructed the people in all the arts of peace, and forbade human sacrifice. But he had to

flee from the priests. He took ship to Vera Cruz on a boat he built himself, and prophesied that one day white Gods would come from the East to overthrow the rule of the priests. Quetzalcouatl's symbol was the feathered snake (quetzal is the bird of paradise, couatl the snake). He himself had a long beard, and his skin was white. When Cortez came, the legend was still alive in dramatized mask plays representing the Saga of Quetzalcouatl, the white God. Montezuma's political decisions were decisively influenced by this prophecy. Were these men the descendants of Quetzalcouatl or had he come back himself to fulfil his words? But the God did not come—it was the white men who came, and vanquished Uitzilopochtli, the red God of the Aztecs, and their kingdom. Frequently, too, the earliest white men were, on their appearance, greeted with the names of the dead, and regarded as incarnations of the returned members of the tribe. Pogge and Wissmann, for example, when they appeared in the Belgian Congo were called 'Kasongo' and 'Kabasu Babu'—these were the names of two dead tribal heroes, one of whom had met his death on an expedition into Kiokoland, and the other in a buffalo hunt (Maes).

But the white men were not always, on their first arrival, regarded as Gods or as the returning souls of eminent tribesmen. We learn from the Chetco Indians of California that when they first saw the white men they took them to be slaves from the tribe of the Wogies, who in their legends were indicated as white (Powers), and they dealt with them accordingly. Still more dangerous for the white man was the way in which, at times, the fact of his arrival was connected, in very remarkable ways, by peculiar primitive logic, with occurrences within the tribe. His strange clothing might be to blame for the absence of rain and the death of flocks; his mere presence might suffice to explain all the evil that had befallen the tribe or the individual. Numerous instances are reported by explorers, from Loango for example (Pechuel-Loesche), from the Eskimo (Hall, Ross), and from many other regions. But the more the native recognized the material and technical superiority of the white man, the more eagerly did he ponder the possible nature of the origin of white and coloured. Countless stories of this type have been devised by the negroes, exquisite fables, too, they often are, revealing not only deep imagination, but above all the unbounded admiration which was and is paid to the white man's dominant position. In fact, in most accounts, the black man is portrayed not only as the weaker, but as actually vicious, and unworthy of his own coloured brethren, whilst the white man is presented as a darling of the Gods, a child of the Sun.

The French Congo Fjort natives give their story a precise title: "Why some men are white and others black" (Dennett). It is the adventure of four men who, in the first days of Creation, wandered together through an immense forest, severed from the world beyond by two rivers, one black, and the other clear. The black river lay in front of their path, but the clear stream was more pleasant to wade through. After deliberating, the men decided to go through the dark stream, and two of the four did so at once. The other two hesitated, tasted the evil dark water, stirred it slightly, and in the end ran away. The two men in the dark stream called to them and urged them to follow, but in vain. Their comrades ran to the clear river and waded through it. When they climbed out they saw to their horror that they had become black, and only those parts of their body with which they had touched the dark river remained clean: their mouths, the soles of their feet, and the palms of their hands. When the four comrades met again they decided to part company. The black men found only huts, and married the black women they found in them. The white men, who had climbed out of the dark river, found enormous houses, with white women living in them, and married them. "And this is why some people are white and some black." This tale must remind every reader of the Scriptural warning against the broad way leading to damnation, and the narrow way to the Promised Land. Though this story of the Fjorts has undoubtedly arisen without the aid of any outside influences, and is hoary with age, it contains some moral truth, and is not the only narrative of this type which harks back to familiar primeval legend.

The interpretation put upon the colour question in the Lower Congo is also connected with water. For the two pairs of human beings whom the God Nsambi created on the first day of the World's existence lived by a well. One couple, on the second day, rose early from bed, went to the well, and washed themselves with great care. Much later the two lazybones awoke, and when they wanted to wash, the water was so dirty that for all their efforts they did not succeed in becoming fresh and clean. So they remained dark, and became the ancestors of the negro race. Everyone will be reminded of the legend of the gold and the pitch maidens.¹

The next account takes us in imagination almost to the lovely Portia who made her suitors choose between the fateful caskets. But among the Ashanti of the Gold Coast the choice lies between two, not three, chances,

¹ A German legend in which an industrious and a lazy maiden are rewarded with showers of gold and pitch respectively. [Translator.]

and the secrets are enclosed in pumpkins. When God created the world he made two pairs of human beings, one black and one white. To decide their future fate he led them to two pumpkins, one small, the other large, and bade them choose. The black pair did not hesitate long, but greedily clutched the large pumpkin and opened it. Inside they found gold and other precious metals, and large quantities of iron, together with many rich woods and spices—all of them things that for them were valueless, because they did not understand the art of using them. The white pair chose the small pumpkin, and found in it a piece of paper painted over with white curly signs, and nothing more. But the paper contained the exact instructions about the use they could make of the gifts of their black comrades, and when they unfolded it they were able to read it. By means of this little bit of paper found in the pumpkin they became lords of the black men, and are so still.

A strong moral undertone appears in the following story of the origin of black and white as told in French Guinea. Here God did not create a pair of human beings, but sent his two sons into the world to seek their wives. The older one was black and the younger white. They wandered, by separate ways, into the world. The elder son soon came to a village that belonged to the Devil. The Devil's daughter lived there too, and she was so beautiful that the black son of God married her, and as a pledge of his loyalty gave her a piece of his loincloth. They lived happily together until suddenly God's younger son, the black son's brother, came to the same village. And as he was white, the Devil's daughter fell so sorely in love with him that she went with him to God, and deserted the black brother, who brooded over his vengeance. In the end he also set out for home, and pretended he was his white brother's best friend. One day the two brothers were hunting together, and the elder led the younger to a cave and said that a hind was lying concealed in it. The younger son crept in, but his black brother then rolled an enormous stone against the opening, intending to starve his white brother to death in the cave. The latter found a way out to an unknown land, where all the women desired to marry him. There he remained, longing for his own family, but not knowing the way home. One day, however, one of God's slaves lost his way hunting, and coming to the strange land recognized his young master. His return home unmasked the black brother's lies, and God condemned his elder son to death. "This is the origin of black and white men," says the native who tells the story, and the explorer d'Ollone, who wrote it down, does not forget to point

out the analogy between this fable and the biblical account of Cain and Abel.

The impression of the white man's superior power did not last long. The natives began to know him better, and ceased devising tales which would explain his superiority. They soon found out that the white man was only another species of the human race. When they became familiar with him as a human being, they treated him to their mockery exactly as they did any member of their own tribe, especially when they recognized his weaknesses. And their observation was extraordinary. From Africa especially we have many examples of their astonishing skill in portraying the white man's character. The Ewe negroes nicknamed one stout gentleman "Podoga" (fat belly), and another "Soso" (the man who lays about him). Büttikofer was called by the Liberian Vey people "suié gbwuru kai" (the beast Skinner) or "kunde fah kai" (the bird killer), and heard nicknames given to other Europeans, such as "gbwéki eh ké" (the waddler), a very apt nickname for a German trader, or "boja bah" (bigbeard), used, of course, for a man with a huge beard. From Togoland we get the nicknames of three earlier German administrators in high position. The tall shrewd governor Count Zech was called "Dogo" (tall, long); Captain von Seefried was nicknamed "Tsuntsu-n goro", the name of a bird with an exceptionally long neck, a good instance of observation; and "Angulu" was the name of a well-known district official in Togoland. "Angulu" in the Haussa tongue means carrion vulture. These vultures gather where there is anything to be had, even though it may not be too fresh or too clean. Many a white man, through insufficient knowledge of the language, has never understood the impression he created upon his pitiless critics. He does not know that every white man is made the subject of noisy song by the bearers in his caravan, that all his qualities are exaggerated to gigantic proportions, and that, if he is popular, his honours are showered thick upon him, ascribed as suits the black man's taste. Even a slim and gentle missionary may be lauded in song as a kind of Pantagruel, as a boozer, a champion in war, hero of the ladies' hearts, slayer of wild beasts, fat paunch, voluptuary; everything in fact that to those about him seems worth remark. Frequently the tunes introduced by the white man's colonial troops are appropriated and sung to words supplied by the natives. Thus the entire Congo State still sings to-day a song called 'O Lupembe', which originated at the Stanley Falls, and was composed in honour of Major Lothaire who lived there (Torday).

But the most poignant truths about the bearers of European civilization may be heard in the chance unintentional remarks made by coloured people to one another, or in proverbs which contain much imaginative wisdom and satire. Mischlich, who spent many years in Togoland, overheard one that was not intended for the white man's ear. The blacks in that region used to wash themselves all over several times a day, using home-made soap and large quantities of water. Many Europeans, however, only washed their faces hastily on getting up, and it certainly never occurred to them that the negroes would call out in their own languages to an especially dirty friend or neighbour: "Pah, you wash like a white man!" The proverbs of natives would fill whole volumes with their remarkable wisdom. Here we will select three only, all from the Ewe. The first sounds as though it were written for a modern emigrant: "Tso to vo hafi nayo le fenu adzu"—"Until you have crossed the river, don't insult the alligator's mouth." The other two are obvious verdicts upon what Europe means to these people: "Avatso kala be, yefe adasi le ablotsi"—"My witness is in Europe, says the liar"; and "Vu meno ablotsi wo doa nù denú o"—"One should not be too hopeful of a ship sailing from Europe."

Further contact with white civilization compelled the native not only to analyse the newcomer by jest and proverb, but to adopt a personal and serious attitude towards him. Armed resistance, whenever attempted, always collapsed; white civilization required the coloured man to get on with it as well as he could. And it then appeared that the ancient forms of his own civilization began to lose their living meaning, that he himself was renouncing what his own parents had adored, that he was making an effort, once he was torn and uprooted from his own traditions, to adapt himself to European ways. And yet the best brains in his own tribe recognized that the white man could never replace their waning culture—all they received in exchange was doubt and calculation, and the feverish life of the white world.

In this connection I am reminded of a conversation I had with a son of the chief of the Kikuyu, who was the only one of his tribe that could look back upon a University training in London and New York. As a child he had seen the first white men enter his tribal territory, and his father and the medicine man went to meet them, taking to the strangers, whom they regarded as gods, the sacred offering of goats. After this child of Africa had studied our white civilization, he became convinced that it spells ruin to his people. "Look," he said to me, "if I marry in my own country and

want to build a house, everybody will help me, and my mother will simply cook their dinner, which all share. But among the white men no one will help me. Every man has his own interests, there is no unity." Another example is the word *Kizungu*, used by the Kilimanjaro tribes to characterize the white man's attitude. It means that Europeans think only in an egoistic, individual manner.

It will be urged that Christian missions have surely done a great deal for the natives, but most experts have their own informed opinion on that point. Apart from a few exceptions, missions have attempted neither to replace the native civilization, nor to protect the natives from white exploitation. Asia and those countries of Africa which accepted the teaching of Mohammed have not been a harvest field for missionaries, and even in a country like Algiers, which has been in French occupation for a hundred years, conversions from Christ to Mohammed have been more numerous than from Mohammed to Christ. In the New World, both in the North, in Canada, and in South and Central America, a mixture of Christian and pagan forms has produced a result far removed from the pure doctrine. And there are numerous regions on the earth where the missionizing of native tribes must be considered as hopeless. "Christianity did not penetrate deeply; it passed like heavy rains, which scarcely wet the first layer of earth, leaving the subsoil dry and sterile . . ." writes Hall, and many explorers of Africa (Nuoffer, Johnston) and South America (E. Norden-skiöld) sponsor the same report. This does not, however, in any way exclude the acceptance of Christian ideas in primitive art, as will be shown in the chapters that follow.

Of course, in many cases the white man is himself to blame for the way primitive peoples, once so ready of belief, have closed the door to spiritual truth. If in Berbice (a place in Guiana) above the Lutheran Church stand the words "Negroes and dogs are not permitted to enter here" (Brutton), it is not surprising that the natives are filled with hatred, and turn away from such a Christian spirit; Christ himself would certainly have driven such missionaries out of his sanctuary. Or take the words of Quaku Hamilton, a native of the Gold Coast, when he tells us about the white man: "When I was a boy, the missionaries used to teach us in British West Africa that if we don't go to church, and don't obey the Government officials whom God appointed to rule over us, then God will be displeased and will make us starve." After this fashion, which is such a painful reminder of the methods of modern dictators, no souls will be won, certainly not the

exceptionally perceptive souls of primitive tribes who for thousands of years have listened to the voices of their Gods in the forest. Nor will anyone be surprised that after experiences of this kind Mutesa, King of the Baganda, who had witnessed the jealous struggles between French Catholic and English Protestant missionaries, said to both groups: "Go! and when you white men have decided on the true religion, it will be time enough to come and preach it to us."

Missionaries who have made earnest efforts to find new methods are completely convinced that neither white civilization nor the Christian religion can be made to fit the negroes like a garment. "The new wine of alien life requires new bottles or it will burst the old containers" (Davis). New methods must be found, for the time when the white man could show the coloured world his conjuring tricks is gone. These savages are now thinking, and thinking with the white world's logic. Westermann, who was once a missionary in Africa, gives us the following report of a black agitator who sketched the relations between Africa and Europe to suit the comprehension of his audience like this: "Brothers, let me remind you of what you all know. Before the white man came to Africa, the whole of this great and beautiful country belonged to the Blacks. We were what the white man calls 'barbarous'. But we had a social system which worked well. In our tribal order material possessions were owned communally. Man, woman, and child shared alike the good things of life. If I had a bag of maize and my neighbour none, it was a matter of course that I should share it with him. When the missionary came to us he said, 'That is right; if you help one another, God in Heaven will rejoice'. But when we came to the great towns, we saw that it is the way of the white man to grab as much as he can; the most esteemed person among them is he who has grabbed most, stamped on his rivals, and himself come to the top. Either the missionary did not know all these things or else he betrayed us. So it comes that we have no success in business. If you wish to climb high, you must give up such unpractical Christianity. The white people who live here in splendid houses and have many motors do not go to church, they have no time for the God of the Christians, they scorn him. Christianity is the religion of the white man. They say the devil is black. If we blacks take a god, then we will have a black god; and when we want to paint the devil, we will paint him white, for the white people are devils." This is the trumpet of attack, not of defence. And whilst the white man keeps on thinking that his civilization is slowly conquering peoples and countries for him, and

actually, even quite recently, new blobs of colour on the political map do signify that new colonial empires are being founded in Africa, the real truth is that the chain of the coloured world has for the past hundred years been visibly closing in.

The continent in which a portion of the coloured race earliest and almost unnoticed began the struggle against the white man was South and Central America. Broadly considered, this part of the New World had never really been a white man's country, for Indian blood, blended later with Negro, had predominated from the very beginning to our own day, not only in the census returns but in later decades in the administration and government of the various states. In my opinion Latin America was lost to the white race as early as the first quarter of the nineteenth century, when the various states gained their independence. For the last hundred years the political struggle in the States of Latin America has followed a direct and obvious path; it is wresting the power from a thin sprinkling of whites, and bestowing it upon the original inhabitants, that is the Indians, or on the Mestizos who, since the conquest of the country, have developed an intermediate position of political importance. The most recent political developments have enormously accelerated the slow circling movement of earlier decades and show quite plainly that the coloured race is seizing the power from the race that has till now ruled in Latin America. It is true at the same time that the trend of development shows evidence of sundry differences which are of merely transient importance, and independent of the general movement.

More fundamental, however, in this struggle of the coloured world against the white are the differences between Spanish and Portuguese America. These differences hark back to the early colonizing methods of both peoples, and to the different ways in which Portuguese and Spaniards have dealt with the race problem.

The Portuguese are and were racially the greatest mongrels in Europe. At the period of the great discoveries Portugal's population was about one million. The emigration of important groups of Portuguese inhabitants to the immense countries in all parts of the world that had just been discovered and acquired was for that reason hardly possible. Consequently after the discovery of Brazil by Duarte Pacheco and its occupation by Cabral (1500) Portuguese migration to Brazil was comparatively small. As white women followed the emigrant scarcely at all, or in very small numbers, the Portuguese planter took Indian women to live with him, and thus from

the beginning arose a blend of races in Brazil, which assumed a political importance that contrasted with conditions in the Spanish colonies. The children of the first Portuguese settlers belonged to the ruling caste, since their fathers, having no white descendants, employed them in the best posts; besides which the racial feeling of the Portuguese colonists was completely indifferent, provided that the coloured people with whom they had to live and work were Christians. This attitude underwent no change when the slave traffic brought a third racial component to Brazil in the shape of enormous numbers of African negroes. And during the next three centuries of Brazil's colonization, racial limits became less and less marked, not only socially but politically.

The history of Brazil thus shows not a revolutionary but an evolutionary amalgamation of three different races into one new population, from which racial prejudice has completely vanished. In the later development of this 'New culture laboratory' (Bilden) the aristocratic families are actually proud of the Indian blood of their ancestors. This picture is naturally correct only of Brazil as a whole, but it may be regarded as decisive for the general political trend. Nor is this blending of races in this giant area yet complete; for example, in the four Southern States the population of Brazil is three-fourths white, between Pernambuco and Bahia more than 60 per cent negroid, and in the Amazon territory pure Indian or Indian and white mixed. We must not from this form the mistaken idea that there are no social differences in Brazil; though racial differences have disappeared, class differences are all the more sharply defined. In other words, the lower class citizen, whether white, red, or black, has a stronger sense of 'class unity' than he has with any man at all who is of his own colour but belongs to the upper classes.

When we come to consider the Spanish States of Latin America the result is somewhat different. Here again the foundations of the new development go back to the old colonial days. Spain had from the outset regarded her colonies as objects of exploitation; she was interested simply in the metals and other treasures which were imported into the home country to increase its prosperity, and finance the Spanish wars in Europe. The Spanish discoverers and conquerors, and the Spanish settlers, were chiefly northern Spaniards from the provinces which had least infiltration of Moorish blood, being, to a great extent, the residue of essentially Celtic and Germanic stocks. Their racial feeling was, therefore, far more strongly marked than that of the Portuguese. The Spanish settler surrounded himself,

as did the Portuguese, with a harem of Indian and negro women, but he did not recognize the children's claim to their birthright. Thus in the Spanish colonies the upper stratum was for a long time composed of pure-blooded Spaniards who had migrated, who governed the country and ruled, while they continued to repulse the Mestizos and Indian population who rose against their dictatorship. It is true that in Peru, to some extent, and in Guatemala and Mexico, there has been a blending of the races, but only between Spaniards and the daughters of Indian nobles, who had in the countries mentioned always received completely different treatment from the common people. In Spanish America, therefore, development from earliest days took the line of revolutionary settlement. The stages of that development have been various; Mexico has to-day already reached the end of a development which in Peru, Guatemala, Colombia, and Bolivia is only beginning.

All these countries are ultimately the Red Man's land, even to-day, and in all of them the red race will gain the power. The Mexican priest, Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla, who first hoisted the banner of the Holy Maid of Guadalupe, the Indian Madonna, as the revolutionary colours in the year 1810, and who was the first white man to lead Indians against the whites, was really only a symbol for further Mexican developments and for Spanish America in general. The independence of Mexico was declared on 6th November, 1813, by the Mestizo José María Morelos y Pavon, and the first full-blooded Indian to be President of Mexico was Benito Juarez (1806-1872), who introduced the famous reform laws, which had for their object the radical severance of Church and State. The task he began was continued by the revolutionary developments of Madero, Carranza, Obregón, and Calles, until in the end the dominating influence of the white man in Mexico disappeared. And not only in politics, but in civilization and religion also the Indian element has again secured the leadership. The late Archbishop, Pascual Diaz Barreto, head of the Mexican Church, was a full-blooded Indian, and many of the leading spirits in the anti-white struggle in Mexico, together with many of the leading officials, have been Mayan or Aztec, as, for example, Felipe Carillo, the Mayan Indian, who is one of the master minds in the socialization movement, especially as regards landed estates (Redfield, Villa). For Mexico then, at any rate, the prophecy that Quetzalcouatl's white god would conquer the land was only a transient truth. Certainly Mexico's coat of arms is still to-day the eagle with the snake, which supports the description of Quetzalcouatl, and even to-day the

Zocalo of the ancient Tenochtitlan, which was the heart of the Aztec kingdom when Mexico was conquered, has remained the great central square of Mexico city---but the old God of the Aztecs, the God of the red Mexican race, Uitzilopochtli, has conquered Quetzalcoatl, and even the name of the country, which originally meant New Spain, is now Mexico, the country of the Aztecs.

A similar development of the returning prominence of the red race is noticeable in many other Southern and Central American Spanish countries, though not so much progress has yet been made as in Mexico. The leaders of the revolutionary movements are sometimes full-blooded Indians, sometimes Mestizos, and sometimes white. The Apra (American Popular Revolutionary Alliance) movement, led by Raul Haya de la Torre, will undoubtedly end in a few years in the same results as have already been obtained in Mexico. Haya is by all accounts of pure Spanish blood, but his heart is Indian, and he draws his power to shake off the yoke of the white ruling class from the ancient civilization of the Incas. He has set out to secure their political goals, which are the extension of Peru southwards to the Rio Maule, and northwards to include Ecuador and the old capital of Quito. When he speaks of his movement and his aims he introduces the words: "We, the descendants of the Incas" (Mitchell), and he esteems the Inca civilization as greater than that of Egypt, greater than that of Greece, greater than any of the most perfect civilizations the world has known.

Similar movements may be observed in Ecuador, Bolivia, and Paraguay, where the Indian and Mestizo element will certainly gain the power which at present it does not possess. Montezuma will not come back to Mexico, nor Atahualpa to Peru, but the Indians have, like intelligent pupils, used their brains and very able powers in studying the technical possibilities, and the psychological mass movement of the modern world; they have learnt how to employ the means used by the white race to attack that race successfully, just as Mahatma Gandhi used the film, the wireless, and other technical means, after his non-co-operation movement collapsed, to win new strength in the struggle against the white race by presenting on the screen the legends of Indian Gods and heroes.

What we find specially characteristic in Latin America is the blended civilization which consists of white and red cultural elements, and which has been directed latterly, with increasing and inexorable bitterness, against the whites. Even the Catholic religion has made no difference to it. The

churches stand where temples once stood, but the Christian altar itself frequently shelters an image of the ancient Gods. Now the churches were erected by the Indians themselves; in Mexico as many as 15,000; and over the main doorway of the cathedral in La Paz, for example, there stands an Indian God which is the work of an Indian sculptor, and so far as I know has till now remained unnoticed. The Indians of Guatemala really hardly know whether they are praying to their God Gucumatz or to Jesus Christ. The ceremonies are half-pagan, half-Christian, and no Catholic priest would venture, during 'Holy Week' to forbid the Indians their masked dances, in honour, not of Christ, but of Judas. The parish money would not come in if the priest were to forbid the Indians, in their dramas, to stage the escape of St. John and the divine maiden on the night of the Crucifixion, deceiving their Lord most sinfully.

At the time when America was discovered, the bellicose Caribs were engaged in a steady drive northwards. They had inundated the West Indies, and entered the North American continent in Florida. Their progress northward was impeded by the invasion of the whites. For a long time the uncolonized and unexplored parts of South America replaced the challenge of an advance northwards, but instead of the Indian of the West Indies came the negroes; and thus the black race wedged itself between the twelve million red and white inhabitants of North America. This tremendously increased the area of contact between the white world and the black. There is no doubt whatever that in the U.S.A., especially during and after the Great War, there was a black migration northwards, chiefly to the towns, and this migration has not yet come to an end, nor will it do so. The black and white question in the United States undoubtedly presents a different appearance from its counterpart in Africa, and even in the Union of South Africa.

The American negroes are strangers in America, just as the whites are; the homes of their ancestors and all their traditions are in Africa. This fact is responsible for the greater instability of the masses. The chain which the coloured world is again beginning to draw round the white will perhaps be most strongly felt in the United States. The remains of the Indian population will play little part in this movement. The 1930 census gives their numbers for the U.S.A. as rather more than 332,000. The process of assimilation steadily proceeds, and since the red element will not threaten the white population with any more racial problems, the government can afford to give preferential treatment to the remains of a once proud race.

Actually by the passing of the Wheeler-Howard Bill the Indian, for the first time in the history of the United States, has ceased to be an object for treatment by the State authorities, and has been raised to the position of an independent citizen and become a partner with equal rights.

Perhaps North America's population question would politically have resembled that of Brazil, and become a laboratory of racial blends, had France retained the mastery in her wars with England, and many indications suggest this. But that loosely knit French America which extended from Canada through the Mississippi valley to the Caribbean Sea and which already existed before the English and the Dutch in their westward movement reached the Alleghanies, fell to pieces, as it was bound to, before the gradual forward pressure of the English settlers in the Eastern States. In the contest between the methods of colonization, England's policy of farmer settlement gained the upper hand.

Not only in America, but in Asia and Africa as well, the West is obviously retreating, and the chain of the coloured world is pressing more tightly round the white. In Asia, apart from Eastern Siberia, the white race has never done more than occupy a few bastions within the yellow world, while a settlement has never been attempted. The white man has never ruled in the kingdom of the yellow man, even when his superior technique forced many Asiatic peoples to submission. Asia's understanding of the white man was too rapid for that. As early as 1640 the Shogun closed Japan to the white invader: "So long as the sun warms the earth, any Christian bold enough to come to Japan, even if he be King Philip himself, or the very God of the Christians, shall pay for it with his head." It was not till the nineteenth century that the guns of American battleships reopened Japan to the white man. But since the end of that century, the white man has retreated in Eastern Asia, and the expansion of the yellow race has made a tremendous advance. During Chinese negotiations with Russia in connection with the building of the South Manchuria Railway, the Chinese delegate, when compelled to grant the concession for building the railway, told the Russian commissioner, Count Witte, that for every kilometre of railway line, it was not the white man who would push into the heart of Asia, but the yellow man who would penetrate the heart of the white man's land. Facts show that he was right. From the beginning of the twentieth century the greatest racial migration in the world's history has come to pass; the Chinese have pressed forward beyond the Great Wall along the

railway into Manchuria, and this migration has every year led north-westwards a million men from the great yellow reservoir.

This movement of peoples has up to the year 1930 produced a thrust of more than thirty million men, and despite political boundaries the thinly populated steppes of Siberia will not stop it. Experts in these questions regard Siberia to-day as already lost to the whites as far as Lake Baikal (Consten), and this, despite the fact that a blend of white and yellow population is beginning to form in the Amur Valley, but barely counts as a cleavage factor. Whilst this migration went north and to the west, the yellow element has for decades been advancing in compact masses to the south and east towards the late German colonies in the South Seas, towards the Malay States and Australia. In the mandated territory of the former German possessions in the South Seas, ceded to Japan, Europeans are almost completely ousted; the Japanese have taken their place, and already equal or exceed the native population. The Japanese population of Truk has doubled in two years, that of Ponape in one year. At the end of 1934 the number of Japanese immigrants numbered more than 40,000, while the natives numbered 50,000. And in Hawaii, which in Cook's day contained 300,000 natives, there are to-day 144,000 Japanese, 27,000 Chinese, and 6,600 Koreans, as against 42,000 whites, whilst the number of natives has been reduced to 22,000. The Philippine declaration of independence will expose this group of islands to a continually sterner and more disturbing acceleration in Japanese settlement and influence. To-day more than half the cultivable land of the Davao province belongs to Japanese landowners.

Australia, New Zealand, and the United States have been obliged to protect themselves by laws against yellow immigration, which proves how strongly the whites have been driven back to their defences. In the Dutch and British Indies the white world is on the defensive. When compared with these migrations of millions, what importance can be attached to the sparse hordes of the Cimbri and Teutons, the East Goths and the West Goths, or briefly to the tribes of Germanic origin, which rolled up the map of the Roman Empire, and ended the existence of Rome's Western Kingdom?

Nor will Africa be able to replace the position lost in the coloured world; only three-tenths of the continent is at all suitable for white settlement, and these three-tenths are already in great part occupied by the three million whites living in Africa. In Africa too the issue lies between agreement and struggle, and it can scarcely be doubted that struggle, for the white race, will end in catastrophe. In one of his latest works, *Jahre der*

Entscheidung, Spengler has painted with a broad brush and in sombre colours a picture of the downfall of the Western world, the basis of which he predicts will be found in the moulding of the black race into a proletariat which he prophesies will be led by white adventurers in an onslaught upon Europe and her civilization.

However, it is not class cohesion that will be the decisive factor in a future collision between the white and coloured worlds, but the sense of race unity—and for adventurers to lead the attack we have not to look very far. It is none other than Adolf Hitler himself who has given the black and yellow world the war cry for the settlement of racial issues with the white world. It is not a coincidence that in the cinemas of the Algerian and Moroccan oases, and in the field cinemas of the Zulus to-day, when Hitler appears on the screen, there are wild hurrahs and applause, or that he already passes as a leader of the blacks against the hated white world, or that the Cabyls and Berbers greet their chiefs with the so-called 'German greeting' and that '*Heil Hitler*' may one day be used as a battle cry by the coloured battalions against the white race. Hitler has given the coloured races their future battle cry, has for the first time in history awakened their race consciousness; and his race theory raked from the dusty folios of Gobineau and Chamberlain may prove to be the mightiest boomerang in the world's history. Hitler will not make the Nordic or the white race lord of the world—his policy has simply handed the enemies of the white race their keenest weapons of attack. And it is not the white Gods that will rule the coloured world, but the heaven of the coloured men that will one day stretch over the white world as well. Whether the first act in the coloured onslaught will result in the annihilation of the Jews is a secondary question; though it does seem, as is demonstrated by the risings in Palestine, Algiers, and Morocco, that the Jews will actually be the immediate sufferers, as they are a comparatively unresisting prey for the coloured hatred of the white man. Adolf Hitler may go down in history, not as a hero of the white, but of the coloured world.

The predominance of the white race is still an existing fact, but it has long since been undermined. It consists chiefly in the strength of the British Empire and the solidarity of Europe. We cannot in the future reckon with absolute certainty upon either of these factors. It is impossible to foretell here what the consequences of a new European war would be. But one fact is certain: after such a war the white race will have lost the upper hand. Coloured nations will be employed in far greater measure than

in the last world war to combat white enemies, and their racial feeling is being cultivated to a pitch whence it is turning against their own white masters. The white man has long ago ceased to be a God, especially since war strips the last shreds of mystery from the technical secret of his superiority. And Gods without secrets, especially Gods whose internal dissension supports them on feet of clay, are rapidly dethroned.

This development will, of course, provoke immediate peril to the whites and their colonial lands only where a unifying political will is forthcoming. This will does not exist in equal measure for all coloured countries. Where there is a formative political will, as among the coloured peoples of advanced civilizations, it will undoubtedly, after the collapse of Europe, force the whites to surrender the bastions they now hold in those lands. And those lands will be the nearer East and Egypt, the whole of India and the Malay Peninsula, and of course all the ramparts they hold in the yellow world, Africa, and especially the Union of South Africa, will experience a shattering upheaval, though maybe here again, owing to the present weakness of a central political formative will, a struggle to liberate the whole will not be attempted, and might not be successful. But notwithstanding, Europe's loss of prestige will be so tremendous that Africa will become a focus of perpetual unrest for the white world, and what distant issues that unrest may have defies prediction. The white God of the earlier centuries, who had the power to keep the black man in fear and terror, has proved himself puny and impotent. The black man, who is now just as inclined to limitless presumption as he was centuries ago to submission, is convinced of his own power and greatness, and will lead himself and the rest of humanity into new phases of development, which can be foreseen by neither the white man nor yet his dark-skinned brother, who now suddenly imagines that he knows the 'open sesame' to the mighty problems of power this earth presents.

Whether it was this idea of the black man's awakening and his anticipated triumph over the white races, whose secret he had guessed, that inspired the Loango artist to his creation, we do not know (Fig. 2, Trocadéro Museum, Paris). It is possible that the white man's rational thinking, which is worlds removed from the magic of the primitive savage, exaggerates the meaning of this figure. But one thing is quite certain, that we have here before us the plastic work of a black artist far ahead of his day, and on the base of the model might well be inscribed: "THE SAVAGE HITS BACK."

The central figure is that of a negro who has disdained giving his body the outward attributes of the white man, a negro without hat or



FIG. 2

umbrella—things which he now knows to be ridiculous. His body is painted as it was painted thousands of years ago, his face is tattooed, his front teeth filed in native fashion. He stands ready to attack, with a weapon in his right hand. This weapon is not the white man's once adored rifle, it is the native's ancient lance, forged of iron melted in African blast furnaces, furnaces which had been in use long before the white man had fathomed the secret of metal alloys. On his body this savage wears the container of the sacred magic medicine, and his lower limbs are clothed with an apron of native material. His left hand is holding the upper part of a European rifle, but it is not ready for firing. Its butt is resting on the black man's foot. Possibly it has been retained as a precaution in case the trusty ancient weapon fails, in case the spear does not suffice. It is a subordinate reserve arm, but it is no longer a firearm of magic power. And there, in European dress, stands a small figure between the black man's legs, a figure seeking protection.

Is it only a negro dressed as a European, or is it actually the white man himself? And this creature who is seeking protection is small and insignificant; he is fleeing to the black warrior who seems to incarnate the ancient power of the dark continent, and to be calling to the attacking white world: "Halt! white man—whither bound?"

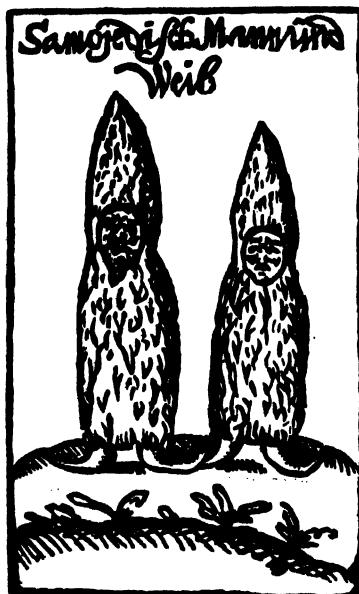


FIG. 3 (see p. 32)

C h a p t e r II

A S W E S A W T H E M — A S T H E Y S E E U S

WHEN we ask how the savage represented the white man and his civilization in his native art, we are at once faced with an interesting counter-question as to the methods used by the European in his art to portray the coloured man and the coloured world. A systematic investigation of this matter would be most illuminating, but as yet none has been attempted either by anthropologist or art historian, though the available material is copious, and in relation to the history of art most interesting.

Various sharply defined periods are clearly distinguishable. The manner in which the savage was represented in European art varies in harmony with the general attitude adopted by the Western World in ancient and modern times towards foreign civilization, excluding the cultural circles of the Mediterranean. In ancient history and during the Middle Ages up to the time of the great discoveries, and even later, information about "Barbarian tribes" was classed as sensational. The more improbable the tone of the accounts, the greater was the delight attaching to their belief. The picture painted of these primitive tribes was usually coloured with fabulous creatures risen from Hell. The oldest descriptions and records of travel are at times illustrated with drawings which present the natives as Cyclopes with one eye, as men from the moon, monsters with tails, and creatures that were half-human and half-beast. Of the racial characteristics of these tribes no account was taken, whether in picture or description—unless they were anthropologically abnormal, they made no impression at all.

Far back in history we find an exception in certain Egyptian reliefs, plastics, and drawings (Steindorf), in which the racial characteristics of the negroes, the peoples of Asia Minor, and even the pygmies (probably of the Upper Nile) have been correctly and convincingly reproduced (Petrie). In classical antiquity again we are familiar with various examples representing Ethiopians (Loewenherz), and the discovery of artistic negro heads and figures in the palace of Minos (Evans) has contributed many another specimen. Negro heads, as neck ornaments and as ear-rings (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York), were worn by classic beauties, and numerous vases show the racially perfect representations of negro heads, at times

combined in Janus shape as a double negro-portrait, or as the portrait of a Greek girl and a negro (Morgan Collection, Princeton, N.J.). The Greek and the Roman artist were actively interested in representing the negro (Beardsley); but the statement applies only to the Ethiopians, not to the barbarian peoples in general.

The rarity with which the other primitive tribes outside Europe are represented in drawings and sculpture, especially in Egyptian, Greek, and Roman art, may, of course, be explained on various grounds, despite the intimate contact that the Roman world often had with barbarous natives. These nations did not correspond to the ancient ideal of beauty, nor did they inspire the artist to transmit them to posterity in stone or picture. Where, however, as in Egypt, the barbarians and the conquered were depicted in honour of a victorious general, they were portrayed as tribute bringers, and subjects.

The victorious campaigns of the Mohammedans, and in the thirteenth century of the Mongolians, put a barrier between primitive peoples and the Western world. The Crusades made but an unsuccessful attempt to break the barrier, and their failure opened a still wider field of investigation in the portrayal of the savage world that lay beyond the Turks and the Mongolians. There was yet another factor: at the beginning of the era of the great discoveries it was, as we should say to-day, 'in the interest of the State' to intimidate competition by publishing hideous stories of primitive tribal horrors. Other European nations would thereby be prevented from embarking on these profitable voyages. The European artist found it in consequence impossible to form any truthful representation of the savage, and had no personal observation to support his ideas.

I was all the more surprised when my attention was called to a painting by Cima da Conegliano. The picture, which dates from 1500 and represents a Bacchic procession, hangs to-day in the Johnson Museum, Philadelphia. The three gambolling fauns, especially the second and third in the group, show features that are neither European nor those of fabulous beings, but definite racial characteristics of Pygmies (Venturi). Whether the artist's imagination divined the correct portraiture, or whether he possessed an anthropologically exact pattern, or had himself seen Pygmies, cannot with certainty be decided.

The second period covers approximately the latter half of the sixteenth to the beginning of the nineteenth century. Here the illustrations, especially the engravings and copper-plate prints of travel descriptions, usually represent

Fig



the primitive tribes as human beings correctly formed, but as Europeans, frequently in actual European or fancy costume. But even towards the end of the seventeenth century travel descriptions appeared, such as Schleissing's, for example, where the illustrations, in this case of the Samoyeds, are very comic (Fig. 3, see p. 28). The artist shows us two figures of fir-cone shape, wrapped in skins, with flappers in place of feet. There is nothing but the beard in the one figure to make it probable that the other, which has no beard, is a female. This drawing gives us the very essence of the sensation aroused by foreign cultures that were neither familiar nor comprehensible.

A study of the narratives which provide such illustrations of primitive tribes is extremely interesting. In most of those dealing with this period we notice that the coloured people not only have European features, but at times correspond exactly to the types of the particular white nation to which the artist or explorer belongs. The reason for this may be that the pictures were not produced on the actual spot, but composed from descriptions, or occasionally from memory. Moreover the capacity for an ethnological and anthropological viewpoint had not yet been developed. Old travel narratives are full of such illustrations. La Pérouse, Cook, Lafiteau, Peter Kolb are but a few names from the long list of authors who endowed the savage with essentially European characteristics. Even the Prince of Wied (first half of the nineteenth century), who was accompanied by the painter Bodmer, does not reproduce the racial features of redskins, but shows us Europeans painted in Indian fashion. Some of the most remarkable pictures of this type occur in the works of Lafiteau and Cook. The 'Iroquois dances' found in Lafiteau display not only in pose and rhythm but also in facial expression pronounced French charm and type. The illustration of the 'Tahiti Navy' given by Cook, and still more the Tahiti dancing girls, are anything but pictures of Polynesians. The picture of the navy portrays Roman Senators in the toga, Greek sybarites, and bearded Englishmen from Yorkshire. The Tahiti dancing girls (Fig. 4) are genuine Anglo-Saxons. They are wearing long draped gowns with butterfly wings, and for head decoration tiaras set with stars. The lid-shaped coverings that conceal their breasts are those of the modern cabaret dancer, while the dance itself is a European ballet-pose with gracefully spread fingers.

To the same period belong the illustrations of natives that appear in the accounts of the travels of La Pérouse published by Milet de Mureau. Fig. 5 shows one of these sketches of the natives of Easter Island. Here again we have no Polynesians, but French people in the costume of the

eighteenth century sitting among 'natives' naked from the waist upwards, and looking like Parisian men and women. In the left background a Frenchman is showing a native woman her own reflection in a framed mirror of that period, while on the right appear the earnest faces of the idols of Easter Island. In the same travel narratives other pictures sometimes occur in which primitive native types are made to resemble portraits of degenerate Europeans. The best examples of this strange conception again come from Cook. When people happened to remember that after all they were dealing with savages, they gave their faces a 'savage' appearance, and tricked their



FIG. 5

figures out with odd decorations. An excellent example of the way North American Indians were represented by Englishmen in the early days of this period is supplied by the John White aquarelles lately unearthed in the British Museum. Here too, apart from the individual distinctions of painting, decoration and dress, we find European faces and gestures, European pose of body and arm, but not a single Indian racial characteristic in the anthropological sense.

The third period, covering the first two-thirds of the nineteenth century, was strongly influenced by Rousseau and his conception of primitive tribes

living in a Garden of Eden. The illustrations found in travel narratives of that period and the works of European artists now swung to the other extreme. Primitive men became ideal figures and were regarded as Adam and Eve in Paradise. The works of Winterbottom, Laing, and Gray are good examples.

Not until the last thirty years of the nineteenth century witnessed the scientific penetration of primitive cultures and the increased interest of the civilized world in colonial politics and anthropology, did any more objective appreciation enter into pictorial representation of the savage, and when it came it was at once strongly influenced by the results of scientific anthropology, and of the new science of photography. The artist was as yet incapable of conveying to his work the impressions suggested to him by exact science, and by physical anthropology especially, without allowing the 'correctness' of the types he illustrated to oust the artistic conception of his picture, and his productions suffered in consequence.

The really great artists were the first to express exotic man in their paintings and sculptures with full artistic and scientifically unimpeachable truth: it was they who introduced to the art of the white world an interesting and undistorted model of the coloured native. I am here thinking in particular of the Frenchman Gauguin, the German Pechstein, and others. Their lead inspired, though without the creation of any historical school, every white artist who from that date onwards represented native life in art. Numerous sculptures and paintings with primitive tribal figures as their motif are to be found in our museums to-day. This impulse to portray native life is notwithstanding relatively modern, and is connected with the general attitude of the white world towards all natives, who are to-day mostly subjects and treated as colonial peoples. The exposition of this development in individual cases belongs to the domain of historical observation. The coloured world and its inhabitants obviously obtained most intensive value and form in artistic types where contact with primitive peoples was most easily made, among Europe's great colonial nations and in America. In European representations the objective portrayal and separation of white culture from that of the coloured world were strongly emphasized, but various American schools, especially in Central America and Mexico, endeavoured to attain a synthesis of American symbolism with the white man's art and civilization; nor is it surprising that it was pre-eminently the advanced cultures of America before Columbus's day, Peru, Central America, and Mexico, that achieved most practical success. We cannot reject

the fact that the artists of the later American republics were proud of the skill displayed by their Indian population, and expressed this feeling in their works. But the historical study of the white man's conquest inspired many a white artist to record in fresco and in painting the history of his country as he saw it. We may mention, among the most prolific and independent of these, Diego Rivera, José Clemente Orozco, and perhaps José Sabogal of Peru, who not only represented in their glowing frescoes the conquest of the New World by the white man, but also sought to blend Indian art and symbolism with aspects of modern schools, and found nothing at all to shock them in emphatic realism. So we see that it was not until centuries after the first contact of the white world with the coloured that the European and American artist learnt to portray, with intelligence and correctness, the yellow, black, and red men in whom these civilizations were personified. The reasons for this were manifold.

First of all the native tribes never came into the white man's land: it was the white man who, as adventurer, soldier, merchant, explorer, or missionary went to their continent. Among these travellers genuine creative artists were very rare or non-existent. Consequently illustrations in early days were usually produced from descriptions, and could not supply any real picture of the native. Again, the white man's interest was not concerned at all with the savage as an individual, but very much concerned with the treasures and commercial possibilities of these foreign countries, and in so far as the native was considered, with questions of his future use for slave traffic, as beast of burden, or as soldier. Yet all this cannot blind our eyes to the fact that from a purely artistic standpoint, if we exclude the fourth period, the representations made by white artists of the native showed less gift of observation and far more poverty of artistic result than the plastics and drawings which the savage produced of the white man.

The verdict is true, not only of European illustrations from the so-called high cultures, that is to say Chinese, Hindu, Abyssinian, and Benin, and their American counterparts, but true also of the Melanesians, Bushmen, Australians, Eskimo, and Plains Indians, of the plastics from West African and Melanesian races, and of the carvings from the north-west coast of North America. Very rarely do we find it difficult to decide whether or not we are looking at a European in the artistic work of these tribes. It is not the costume only, but all the most delicate details, the anthropological characteristics, such as difference in hair, lips, and nose, in gesture, pose of the arms and hands, and of the whole body, that have been exactly noted

and recorded. In many cases not only can we quite clearly recognize that we are studying the picture of a European, but the special traits of a definite nation have been so well executed that we can distinguish with certainty between Englishmen, Frenchmen, Portuguese, Dutchmen, Germans, or Russians, without assistance from historical facts or peculiarities of clothing. This fact is all the more striking, since this realism does not seem in keeping with the essentials of tribal art, and requires an explanation which only a study of primitive art as a whole will supply.

Let us take two practical examples which will bring us directly to the consideration of primitive art, and show us how in the last fifty years this study has become almost a fight for slogans. In the year 1931, on the occasion of an exhibition of "Masks of Mankind" that I had arranged, I received the following letter sponsored by a group of visitors to the Museum:

"During a visit we paid to the Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum, we noticed that in a special exhibition of exotic masks and prepared skulls from primitive tribes, the death masks of Beethoven, Frederick the Great, and others are being exhibited in the same room to the eye of a curious public. Many of these barbaric and fantastic hobgoblins have been placed immediately above, possibly with some educative intention, to contrast the physical horror and disgust produced by these grotesque objects with the most sacred feelings of piety, thus rendering the latter more effective. We must most strongly protest. The death masks of Beethoven and Frederick the Great belong to halls of devotional character, not in the company of negro trophies and facial distortions, the examination of which is only possible when we have mastered an original and very healthy sense of disgust. The promiscuous blending of the crude and the sacred we simply cannot understand. The death masks of our heroes are no fit matter for object lessons. He who does not approach them with devotion should not approach at all."

This exhibition was arranged for quiet private study of the genesis and development of the masks of mankind, up to the modern death mask. The making of masks originated in the worship of the dead. The skulls are exhumed after burial, and when the fleshy portions have been removed are preserved in clubs and 'spirit' houses. They are then modelled in putty, and at times reconstructed into excellent likenesses, which play an important part in the life of certain primitive peoples; for the magic power of the individual which is thought to be embodied in the skull is supposed after the person's death to be of service to the community. Not till he is dead does a man become, to some extent, an individual, whereas in life he played his

part as a fraction of the community, and not till after death do his magic powers, as such, develop. It was from this magic of the dead that the mask developed its vital meaning, for the masks themselves are originally spirits, and spirits of the dead. It is not the wearer of the mask, for he is unknown, but the mask as such that is full of meaning and equipped with mysterious powers.

The gods of primitive man grew from his masks and evolved as his mind developed. So this exhibition in Cologne presented the historical development of the mask and its meaning up to our day. The exhibits included Melanesian skulls and masks, masks from the north-west coast of America, the Eskimo and West Africa, Ceylon, and even Switzerland and Northern Hungary, as well as the death masks of the Inconnue de la Seine, Napoleon, Frederick the Great, Beethoven, and the poet Wedekind. For despite all the variations of our modern civilization and modern ways of thinking, the modern death mask has much in common with those age-old civilizations, and the masks of those primitive tribes. Though we no longer look for the seat of the soul, or what we understand by soul, in the skull of a man, yet his face and the mask of his face have become the real criterion of a man. Even in the modern death mask the purpose and meaning conveyed are that it should reflect the splendour of the dead, no longer in the sense of rebirth as a new creature with magic powers, but in the sense of farewell. The circle of evolution has been completed: it began among primitive tribes with beliefs thousands of years old that centred round the cult of the mask and the birth of the individual after death; it ends in our day with the farewell in death.

Though the letter quoted above was by no means typical of the mass of visitors to the exhibition, for numerous other letters were most enthusiastic, yet it is typical of a certain section of the population whose ignorance and political arrogance had already in 1931 become apparent in Germany. The protest echoes the conceptions of the sixteenth century, when primitive works of art were exhibited in royal collections of curiosities and antiques as hideous examples of depraved and brutalized humanity. To-day, in Hitler's Germany, the conception put forward in the letter is predominant, and every art that is not 'Nordic' can produce only 'bogy-pictures' and 'products of a perverted imagination'. Childish ideas of this kind are scarcely to be found among other European and American nations, especially those that have been brought, by the possession of large colonial empires, into close relations with primitive peoples. This want of comprehension, or

what may more properly be termed hatred of primitive art, is, of course, foreign to the earliest German scientific publications. The study of primitive art, its inner appreciation, and final understanding, require a much deeper familiarity with primitive cultures in general than can be provided by a cursory visit to an exhibition. Primitive art can only be understood and only described by using our knowledge of the special civilization or group of civilizations connected with the tribes considered. Every isolated study which disregards the civilizing environment that produced these forms of art, which has no knowledge of the religion, domestic life, and social conditions of the tribe under consideration, must lead to false conclusions: and if an attempt is made to judge the individual work by the standards and in the terminology of modern art, the issues are bound to be distorted and untrue. Let us take a second example in illustration.

At the beginning of 1935, a discussion took place in a New York museum in connection with an exhibition of mainly West African negro plastics. It was attended by well-known collectors and critics. The debate centred chiefly on the age of the exhibits. Of those present, only the ethnologist had the slightest knowledge of the native civilization of West African tribes. The whole interest of the meeting was concentrated on finding by analogies from modern art an order of priority for the individual exhibits, a question which is not quite unessential in research studies of primitive art, but is never of primary importance. At last, one of the most important art critics took an exhibit and developed from it his theory of priority. He came to the conclusion that, in the case of the exhibits before us, the realistic moment of conception must have occurred at the beginning, and the highly conventional execution of similar figures at the end. As proof he pointed to the eyes in various exhibits: at first they were carved with complete realism and natural truth, but were later indicated by simple strokes. Ignoring the false and arbitrary premise that the conventional element appears later than the realistic in West African carvings, I was able to prove that in the case before us the 'eyes' referred to were not intended to represent eyes at all, but were special decorative marks peculiar to members of the tribe in question.

The two practical examples supplied from experience are the two poles between which the earlier literature of primitive art is mainly active. Until comparatively recent times such art was completely ignored; later it became the centre of scientific discussion, in the form of monographs, or in premature attempts to produce a synthesis and evolutional scheme of all

primitive art. In the creative art of recent years we observe strong influences of primitive originals, as for example in the work of the German, Belling, and the American, Jacob Epstein. In Epstein's latest sculpture, "Behold the man," I personally can see nothing but an imitation of West African modellings, in a European setting and upon a colossal scale. But Epstein has failed to comprehend the rhythm of this art.

There have been numerous literary attempts to understand, explain, and appropriate primitive art. Extensive bibliographies, chiefly monographs, which will supply further help with the problem, are to be found in the writings of Balfour, Boas, Bossert, Einstein, Grosse, Hausenstein, Hirn, Kühn, Nuoffer, Sadler, Springer, Stephan, Sydow, Woermann, and others. But the psychologist and psychiatrist, as well as the ethnologist and the art critic, have made strong efforts to throw light on the problems of primitive art. A special comparison was made between the drawings and models produced by children and those of primitive tribes. Luquet, Levinstein, and others have in numerous treatises compared the art of the child with that of the native, and endeavoured to find the same elements in both—in my opinion very unsuccessfully. The law of biogenesis is not easily applied to the mind and to art. Even Luquet has to admit that "the realism of a child's drawing is completely different from that of the adult". Coloured children and white children may certainly be compared in their artistic expression, but comparison between the work of a child and the work of primitive tribes in general is out of the question. In North Africa, Algiers, and Morocco I have collected numerous drawings by native children, as produced in the local native schools conducted by Frenchmen, and have compared them with the drawings of white children of the same age. Naturally the choice of objects for illustration was quite different, but in style and form there were hardly any discrepancies.

Prinzhorn's attempt to find a parallel between the creative work of the insane and the art of primitive tribes may likewise be considered an interesting experiment, but we need not discuss the seriousness of such a comparison. There has never been the slightest ground for it, unless we again adopt the intellectual standpoint of the sixteenth century, or that of the art experts under the Hitler regime. I have examined a large number of drawings and models by mentally diseased patients in mental institutions of widely differing types, and only once have I met with any similarity, and then not in the representation, but in the thought of a mental patient as compared with the illogical thinking of primitive tribes, when a professional

seamstress, who was a mental patient, made a doll's frock and provided it with a single sleeve, which she sewed on to the frock in front at the breast level. Even if many other details of style and form are reminiscent of primitive art, the creative work of the insane is still the work of diseased persons. But primitive art is the fashioning of a healthy mind. If any comparison at all must be made, it can only be made between the work of the mentally diseased in white and coloured nations respectively.

In an attempt to show the evolutional history of primitive art it has often been considered sufficient to elaborate a main conclusion suggested by pairs of contrary ideas, the imaginative and the sensory, Apollo and Dionysius, ideoplastic and physioplastic, line and colour. These distinctions, however, do not lift even a corner of the veil that hides the secrets of primitive art. The same difficulties that we meet in every domain of primitive life confront us here: we have to take a complete slice of tribal life and describe it without giving a false account. But above all, the problems of primitive art analysis are not the same as those of the history of art. Admittedly the analysis of the history of art must also pay regard, in order to reach successful conclusions, to the age and the circumstances of the age, in brief, to the cultural life and thought of the times in which a work of art originated. But while this is a side issue in the history of art, it is the main task in unveiling primitive art. Not until we have an exact knowledge of the civilization in which the work of art was produced are we able to treat of the question of form and style found in any one production. If we attempt to describe and explain primitive works of art isolated and wrenched from their cultural complexes, using moreover the differentiating characteristics and terminology of modern artistic science, we must, as shown in the examples given above, arrive at false conclusions.

To make this thought still clearer, and to show what confusions may arise in literature, if the meaning of the individual work of art, whether drawing or model, be not first examined on the basis of the general civilization, let us take another example. In prehistoric art until a few years ago a group of so-called 'tectiformes', hidden forms or *signes obscures*, was interpreted in its typical form as drawings of huts (Breuil, Hauser, Obermaier, Schuchardt, Vinaccia). I was able to prove that this interpretation was mistaken, that the art of the paleolithic age found its expression in pure outline drawing, and that these drawings, if interpreted as huts, must represent cross-sections; on the other hand, however, that these typical

'tectiformes' were drawings of animal traps belonging to prehistoric man—and were, therefore, neither ornaments nor "geometrical forms that exhibit bilateral symmetry" (Boas). They are purely and simply very exact and realistic drawings of gravity traps, and it is completely wrong to try to draw conclusions from their shape when the meaning of these drawings is unknown. Conclusions cannot be drawn until their meaning has been demonstrated beyond possibility of mistake.

Another example is given in Fig. 205, the portrait of Queen Victoria produced by Bushmen. All kinds of formal and stylistic interpretations were applied by the discoverer, who was entirely convinced of the great age of this figure! How altogether differently would he have treated this drawing from the artistic standpoint, and most important of all, how different would have been his estimate, had he known that it was a picture of Queen Victoria!

The immediate solution of these preliminary, or rather these basic questions of the art of primitive peoples, has, in my opinion, so far been attempted only by the culture-historical school of ethnology which first of all established the chronological succession of cultural circles, and then undertook to define within those circles the characteristics of the individual artistic forms. Such a history of human culture produced on the basis of definite criteria was of course bound to embrace the artistic expression of primitive peoples (Graebner, Lips), and the conclusion is completely justified that a cultural complex, which was indubitably recognized as the oldest according to its general culture-structure, exhibited also the oldest forms of art. If we follow the results of this culture-historical method of ethnology, we find that drawings with flat figurative painting devoid of perspective are the oldest historical expression of the hunters and food-gatherers that lie nearest the cradle of mankind, such peoples as the Bushmen, the Fuegians, the Veddas, parts of the Australian tribes, and of the African and Asiatic Pygmies. This is true as regards their line drawing: for ornamentation this cultural group employs surface fluting. The plastic work which occurs in some tribes is characterized by the presence of very clumsy figures of gods or men. Their deficiency in more advanced plastic work must be explained by the roaming life of these peoples, and the general cultural structure which that life implies.

The cultural group that follows them, the people of a so-called harvesting economy, comprises chiefly the tribes of the south and west coast of New Guinea, the eastern, southern, and northern marginal regions of Australia,

and portions of South America and North America. The plastic art of this cultural circle is specially observable in the animal models on articles of domestic use. Bowls and head-rests, which in form favour some association with an animal, are shaped as animals, and, of course, man himself in this cultural stage feels no contrast but rather affinity with animals. For decorative purposes the harvesting peoples employ straight lines with triangular and rectangular forms.

Not till we come to the horticultural peoples, that is, to tribes that are relatively settled and engaged in production, do we find a complete development of plastic art. From this civilization, to a large extent, spring all the figurative examples, masks and figures of men, fetishes and figures of ancestors, which fill our museums, and about which we principally think when we speak of primitive art. The regions where this cultural group makes its strongest appearance are the agricultural areas of Melanesia, Africa, and South America. The older complexes of this culture are characterized artistically by the mask, and by models of spirits and of the dead, whilst decoration takes the form of distinctive round or curved ornamentation and concentric circles. A typical attribute of the later complexes of this cultural group is the appearance of spiral decoration, and in plastic art the crouching figure, in imitation no doubt of bodies buried in a crouching position. Within this group not only art but civilization as a whole is strongly influenced by the religious life. Secret societies of men and women have furthered the development of artistic mask making: settled life in small communities, homogeneous and democratic, was what really made advanced knowledge of plastic art possible. Religious imagery occupies a central position in this civilization. Where human beings are represented, it is the dead and not the living man that is adopted as model.

Over a wide area of the globe the totemistic art of the harvesting peoples has become connected with this animistic art of the horticultural peoples; such forms reach their culminating point in the totem poles of the north-west coast of America, and the conspicuous carvings from New Ireland.

Among the pastoral peoples the plastic art of earlier civilizations is again lost or stunted; it forsakes its delicacy of design and versatile motif. Drawing and decoration take their place. Finally, in Polynesian civilization, the most recent of those preceding the high cultures, plastic art is characterized by a freer style, and a desire for the monumental, as proved by the well-known stone figures of the Marquesas Isles, and Easter Island. In the decoration chip-carving technique predominates, and extends over the

entire surface of the object, with a preference for rectilinear figures, such as triangles and quadrilaterals. This elaboration of the chronological succession of individual cultures and artistic styles does not of course, finally solve the problem of primitive art. But it supplies a solid basis for relatively determining the questions of age even in individual cases. We can say, for example, that pictures of animal-men are probably more recent than pure pictures of animals, that mask models and figures of ancestors are more recent than the typical drawings of the Australian or Bushmen, that circular decoration, curves and concentric circles are more recent cultural elements than decoration which employs surface fluting, and so on. Within this rough grouping there are overlappings and blends of particular styles and forms of art which require special elaboration. Thus, for example, there is an obvious difference in form and style between many art products of Oceanic and African sculpture, which for all that have the same general cultural basis. Possibly the difference can be traced to its roots by an understanding of African technique in ironworking. When contrasted with the decorative forms of Melanesian figures, African models, which frequently possess no artistic inspiration, seem at times stiff and dry, especially in fetish figures where a complete reproduction of detail is important.

But this chronological elaboration of cultural and artistic expression enables us to trace influences of migration of stylistic forms within a special area, and by this means we exclude, as far as possible, any personal interpretation derived from purely subjective considerations. If we then use this cultural basis to study fairly small geographical regions of primitive art, we shall be able to solve many problems. As regards the plastic art of Africa, certain stylistic provinces have been defined (Sydow, Nuoffer), which, going from north to south, include Benin with Upper Guinea and the Cameroons, the Congo Interior and the Congo Coast with Loango. Of course, West African art has its own differentia and local developments, but the general features show no retrogression. No doubt the Benin bronzes are easily distinguishable from the masks of the Portuguese Congo, and Gabun art from that of the Cameroon grass lands, and the elegant cast models of the Ashanti from the enormous masks and wooden figures of the Southern Congo. No doubt also influences have been at work within the regions named. Thus the Benin technique of casting models in metal was spread beyond the Central Cameroons to the Northern Congo, and artistic influences from the Nile have reached the French Sudan. But when in practice we have to decide about a mask, when, for example, in a collection

of Eskimo, South Sea Island, and West African masks we have to pick out the West African specimens, our first impression is the general impression of West African art, and after that we notice the characteristics of stylistic provinces, which serve as our criterion of selection.

But all this knowledge connected with the civilization of primitive tribes will not bring their art any nearer to us, if we do not try to comprehend their souls and their thoughts. And the associative thinking of native tribes, their logical notions of cause and effect are of a very different type from our logic of causal relation (Lévy-Bruhl). Their individuality is a correlation with the community, not a contrast, as in modern society. Let us demonstrate the difference of their logic and thought in two examples, which are important aids in interpreting many primitive works of art.

An English painter travelled through the territory of the New Zealand Maoris and filled his numerous sketch-books with portraits of natives. One of his specially successful drawings was that of an ancient chieftain, whose face was covered with typical spiral tattooing. The artist proudly showed his drawing to his model, and naturally expected his hearty appreciation. The old man looked at his portrait for a long time. At last he declined it with the words: "That's not what I am". The artist, astonished and much offended, invited the old man to be good enough to draw his own portrait. He gave him a pencil and paper, and the old Maori promptly set about it. When he handed the white man the result, with the words: "That's what I am!" the latter could see nothing but the old chief's tattoo pattern which signified his tribal connection. We see from this that the individual world of Western thought is foreign to him. The conception of the community replaces the individual even in art.

The other example is the personal experience of a white missionary with a native from the Roper River territory (Gunn). This priest had instructed a large number of his coloured mission pupils in the mysteries of the Catholic faith, and at last found them ripe for baptism. Among these new Christians was a certain Ebimel Wooloomool, who had now received from the white man's land the simpler name of Charlie. One Good Friday, as the missionary was coming home from church, he saw Charlie sitting by the wayside, busy devouring an enormous kangaroo steak. The priest pointed out to him how wrong it was to be eating meat on a Friday, above all on Good Friday. To his astonishment he received the answer that Charlie was not eating meat at all, but fish. The priest then became angry, and said that his sin was made all the greater by lying. But Charlie, still gnawing his

kangaroo steak, insisted that he was not eating meat, but fish. "Look here," he said to his converter, "you took me to the river and threw water on me. You told me that as a result I am not Ebimel Wooloomool any more, but Charlie, a completely new creature. Well, I went to the river too, and threw water on the roast kangaroo, and I called it 'fish'. So you see, I am not lying; I am eating fish, not meat."

Only the man who can understand these stories of the 'other logic' of primitive tribes will be able to appreciate, at least with proper feeling, the frequently charming artistic expressions which arise from just this mentality. If we take our modern conception of life and our own thinking as a base, Nuoffer and Karutz may be right in thinking that primitive art has no 'soul's expression', that it is incapable of penetrating the province of the soul! But this estimate again is derived from the conceptions of our own day. In any case, the primitive artist hardly penetrates the essential nature of things, as we can with our Reason—for him resemblances without reference to time and space are sufficient to form judgments and produce likenesses. The single individual, at least in life, is no subject of study for primitive art. Not till we come to the high culture does the problem of individuality enter; then the figure of the individual in the modern sense appears, and is represented in art as a portrait.

From Africa we are acquainted with portrait busts of the Pharaohs dating from the first Egyptian dynasty (Roederer), and the bronze art of Benin has also produced portraits. Yet wherever the portrait appears in African art, it will be found to have originated in European influence. We are familiar with life-size wood statuettes of three Dahomey Kings, of whom one only, Geso (1818–1858), was represented as human, but there is no real portraiture. Similarly we have details of an artistic model of the Empire founder in the art of Yoruba (Frobenius). Bastian mentions the figure of the dead Congo King which was to represent the King during the time of the smoking of his corpse,¹ but we have no information as to whether this figure was a portrait. We also know of monuments of individual kings among the modelled figures of the Congo (Maes). Among these the statue of King Mikobe Mbula of the Bakuba seems to be true to life. Individual statues of the Bushongo kings are also known to us as portraits (Torday-Joyce), and from Loango we have wooden portraits erected as memorials representing definite individuals who in one way or another earned esteem (Pechuel-

¹ So that it may be used later in ceremonies, the King's corpse is smoked, and until that process is completed a picture of the King takes the place of his body.

Loesche, Bastian). Among them are fetishes in honour of famous Bonganga, which include a midwife, a private citizen, and a black scholar, who gained prominence by their services. In Southern Nigeria we meet the bust portrait of Moia, priestess of the Nimm. This was executed in clay and osier (Talbot).

Certain scholars, with an extremely slight knowledge of primitive art, altogether deny the existence of primitive artists. "In black Africa", says Hardy, "the artist does not exist". Others regard them as caricaturists (Germann). Our knowledge of the primitive artist is certainly very slight, monographs and travel narratives are silent about him, but for all that we can get a concise picture of him. When confronted with so many masterpieces full of originality, inspiration, and artistic skill, we feel keen regret that their authors are unknown: only their works can testify to the artists' qualifications, their names we do not know, and shall never know. Who is this man who leaves us these accomplished results, and what kind of estimate do his fellow tribesmen put upon his creations?

We cannot, among primitive peoples, speak of the artist's being 'called' to his mission. The complicated and pretentious atmosphere that rightly or wrongly always envelops our painters and sculptors, the artistic refinements which we are only too ready to connect with the idea of artistic creation, the exaggerated stressing of an individual talent which is regarded as unique—all such ideas are in direct opposition to primitive thought. No one who has troubled to give primitive art even a cursory survey will ever think of the native artist in that light. This does not, however, mean that primitive peoples have no sense of quality and efficiency, that they are not proud of workmen who are specially clever in producing complicated implements and furniture. The profoundest roots of artistic production, a certain pious simplicity and introspection are, with them, more of a natural gift than is the case with their white colleague, who at times is driven by poverty of ideas to labour his work with an affected finesse. For the indefatigable imagination, continual readiness to absorb, and keen observational faculty of primitive men are qualities which our European or American artists frequently have to acquire by long study—among coloured artists they usually exist from the outset.

As the results of primitive art are different, so too are the germ-cells from which it springs, and the attitude of the local population to the finished artistic product and its creator. We know that the Papuan artist who carves masks and *malangans*,¹ before beginning his work prays to the Sun God that

¹ The term for certain wood carvings or reliefs from New Guinea.

his work may be successful. In Melanesia the artist occupied a highly respected position, and Melanesian carvings actually possess a wealth of form, and an artistic inspiration obtained without the help of metal implements, which assisted by their astonishing colouring secure them a leading position in the world's primitive art. Among the Polynesian tribes, too, the artist, his family, and his posterity are highly respected, and occasionally the native reveals this honoured position to the white explorer, whom he frequently regards as his equal. Thomson's guide on his journeys through Easter Island was always very proud of being able to stress the fact that one of his ancestors had been an 'Unrautahui', or sculptor, and in the Marquesas Islands, for example, the sculptor is called 'Tuhuna', 'the skilled man' (v.d. Steinen). In West Africa, too, the woodcarver assumed a highly respected social position, and was frequently summoned to Court by the Lamidos, Chieftains or Kings (Jaspert, Read-Dalton), where he at times, as friend of the ruler, actually wielded political influence.

In olden days almost every member of a tribe was an adept at producing for himself the objects he needed with the aid of a knife, a scraper, or a drill to perforate mussel shells. There were always individuals whose products were technically more remarkable and valuable, their decoration richer, and their whole work more beautiful than the work of others. Any such superior workman became the unknown genius of the primeval forest. Often he was a member of a family that for generations had been equally gifted, which claimed by tradition the executional talent required for some definite artistic product, and to which the other tribal members would come, to order from the 'cleverer worker' the objects they required, and to pay for them. Thus arose divisions into complete guilds and complete professional occupations. In Central Angola any man may carve an idol, but every man throughout the country knows the few special craftsmen able to produce the really beautiful figures, and all who can afford to do so order their figures from such a master-craftsman (Jaspert). It often happens, too, that the production of particular religious figures is reserved for a particular social rank, usually that of the medicine man, as we find among the Watchiwokwe (Wissmann).

The primitive artist, far more so than his white colleague, is limited to the material at his disposal. The Eskimo cannot work with bamboo, nor the South Sea Islander with ivory; each is compelled to produce model and figure from the medium placed by nature at his disposal. This limitation, however, has had the advantage of making him exhaust to the uttermost all

the possibilities of his one medium, or the few materials he had. He has wrested from them every possible form and ornamentation. This circumstance fitly supplies an explanation of the wealth of form which, for European eyes, is often almost incomprehensible, and which attains its perfection in materials in themselves often valueless and insignificant—frequently transforming them into marvellous products of artistic precision. We have only to think of the simple calabashes made of pumpkin or coco-nut, of the bamboo poles, the oars of the South Sea islanders, or the engraved animal tusks of Arctic peoples: these materials, thanks to the labour of the craftsmen who use them, become artistic productions of great beauty. Each material requires special tools for use upon it; they are often wonderfully simple, but always adequate. It appears to us incredible that the New Ireland wood-carvings, which no artist of our day could imitate with his tools, were carved with simple mussel shell, that the jade clubs of the Maori chieftains were bored in the most primitive manner with wood and sand. Not every people was so fortunate in knowing the secrets of metal as were the tribes of Africa, who smelted their alloys in blast furnaces before the white man had discovered any such furnace. Africa, the country that is richest in primitive sculpture, was and still is familiar with definite sculptors' tools, and all explorers have repeatedly admired the speed and absolute certainty with which these tools are used. As a rule the artist crouches on a low wooden block, with a similar block of wood, which is his future model, between his feet in front of him. With a large cutlass he carves the rough shape, then improves it with adzes, chisels and gouges, not forgetting finally to smooth the surface with 'sandpaper', for which he substitutes rough leaves or the skin of a special fish (Pippet).

The sequence of processes is, among all primitive peoples, exactly and logically defined, whether it be poker work on bamboo poles, or the carving of artistic patterns in tree bark, as in New Guinea. We might say that every primitive artist brings his inspiration with him into the world; what he learns by training is only a greater or less technical skill. Ästhetic colour sense also plays an important part in primitive art, but is extremely dependent upon natural conditions. We need only think of the classic black, red, and white—soot, ochre, and chalk—of the South Seas. The Bamum possessed a complicated colour system. Their pigments, which were produced in the six royal colour mines, were beautiful fast colours, exactly blended and divided, and the Bamum had words for the most delicate colour shades (Rein-Wuhrmann). Among the Montagnais-Naskapi

Indians of the Labrador peninsula, red seems to have influenced the whole world of colour, so much so that for them 'beautiful' and 'red' are identical. This fact may be connected with the presence of vermillion near Lake Chibougamau, for in earlier times their local cinnabar red provided them with the only means of painting their objects.

In earlier times the native artist never attempted to obtain 'sittings' from his model, though now he sometimes does so. As a rule he simply dives into the large storehouse of his imagination, and brings out the 'portrait', adorns it with details that seem to him important, and shapes it to fit into his own world of ideas. A portrait in our sense, above all a portrait with as close a resemblance as possible to the original, is unknown to primitive peoples. Where it does appear, it has been an immediate result of high culture or the white man's influence. Even then it is the portrait of the dead that is preferred, not that of the living. The model, of whatever kind it may be, is only the distant theme, and the work of art is, at its best, nothing more than a very circuitous variation of this theme. Frequently the motifs chosen cannot be executed in the material employed. Puppet tells us of motor cars and bicycles which were meant to be carved throughout in wood, but he also tells us that the carvers were far more charmed with the idea of devoting their energies to the animals of a Noah's ark. The imagination is there, and frequently it is only chance which points the craftsman one way or another.

Prominent masters of their material, and distinguished experts in this or that domain of art have had their patrons among primitive peoples exactly as they had with us. We have already mentioned that the King of Benin always had the bronze caster, the 'Ine-nigun', among his personal suite (Vatter); and legend tells us that King Esige acted as patron to the craftsman who produced the famous bronze plaques, and that he encouraged systematic instruction in this art, by summoning the artist Ahammangiwia to Court (Read-Dalton). From Middle Angola, too, we learn that from ancient times the chiefs had summoned artists to their Court, in order to use their skill to enrich their own country (Jaspert). The idea of learning art systematically, i.e. of learning the technique of wood-carving, metal casting, etc., is familiar to many primitive peoples. Thus the duration of apprenticeship in wood-carving among the Atutu and Guro is reckoned to be from two to three years (Hinumelheber), in Loango five years. But the apprentice is not at once introduced to the advanced art of making masks or statuettes. He is first taught to make spoons, weaver's spools, and other wooden utensils

in daily use, before he is allowed to venture upon masks and sculptures. A profession, in the sense of a free creative art, is unknown ; everyone who wishes to learn the craft and can pay for his learning is admitted. The selection of promising students is unknown, as is the idea of talent. Moreover, among the Atutu and Guro we are no longer dealing with the uninfluenced artist, but with persons who have come under strong European influences, who could in their pidgin-French give the explorer the answer they had learnt in Paris: "It is the gods who have show me . . ."

In more recent times, however, white colonizers have made attempts fraught with great promise to enable the natives to turn Africa's ancient art to account once more, to maintain the old instincts and traditions, and to free the negro's artistic work from the junk and shoddy of the European export market. In 1931 Pippet selected, from the natives of Achimota, a vocational master-craftsman, almost unspoilt by Europe, and had some 200 native boys and some girls methodically taught sculpture by him, with excellent results.

We are, of course, familiar with art guilds, in fact whole classes of sculptors or metal-casters. But very rarely indeed do the traditions come from a studio, from the workshop of a really great primitive artist, a man who produces choice creations that enrich and delight our eyes. One such artist of the Bamum tribe in the Cameroons is shown in Fig. 1 (frontispiece), in front of the almost completed statue of a man with a bottle. This master's worldly wise features reveal so well the international characteristics of creative spirituality, the scepticism, detachment, and seclusion of a significant personality, that it is a joy to look into his face. A missionary, who himself once witnessed the production of a Cameroon model (Emonts), describes this process and the sculptor himself in such an inspired and poignant manner, that his information seems to fit our illustration exactly. His sculptor from the Babanki had learnt from his father the art of carving masks, but became so inspired on seeing a wonderfully carved wooden throne belonging to the Chief of Bamum, that he decided to work only for the nobility. His fame soon became so great that his tribe made the artist their chief. His studio, therefore, was in the chieftain's palace. Servants were there to help him when he stood in front of his rough-hewn wooden block, to model his creation with ease and certainty, using his small wooden mallet and primitive home-forged chisel. Finally the edges were polished with red-hot iron, and the spectator was fascinated by the beauty of the masterpiece and the solidity of this production of craftsmanship. Our

artist in the illustration wears Haussa dress, effectively adorned with broad padded sleeves, and a few stripes. Round his neck is wound a chain of pearls, and the adept hands with mallet and chisel are resting on the shoulders of a figure, the ornamental top of a chieftain's chair. These hands are cunning in handling the tools of their art, and the master's shrewd gaze allows us an intimate view of the mentality of such a man, whose habit it is to fashion in wood spirits of the dead, and fetishes, gods and devils, with the strength of his hands and his imagination. Those of us who suppose primitive art to be the sportive jesting of 'savages' are compelled to abandon our naïve point of view, for this Cameroon sculptor standing barefoot before us has all the characteristics of genius—earnestness, hesitation, and a mellowness which has its roots in a profound inward life and the control of the requirements of the craft.

This whole artistic atmosphere of thought, coupled with the events of history must be our guide in interpreting the representation of Europeans by primitive peoples. But by primitive peoples—to make our use of the term plain once more—we do not mean the peoples of high culture, that is of China, Japan, India, Egypt, Persia, Peru, Mexico, etc., but those cultures which are, historically speaking, older than those named above—cultures whose history has never been written, but could be reconstructed only by white explorers. We understand, therefore, by primitive peoples such tribes as the Australian, and the Melanesian, the Negro, Polynesians, Indians from North and South America, the Eskimo, the peoples of Siberia, and others. The principal theme of this book is the manner in which such peoples have represented the white man.

It is, therefore, no task of mine to show here the reciprocal influences of the high cultures on European, on Indian, Chinese, or Mohammedan art, or to determine how much of the baroque and rococo has been borrowed from Chinese art, or how many Mohammedan stylistic forms are apparent in Romanesque and Gothic style. These are questions of the history of art in its narrower sense. Even the representations of European influence, beginning with the campaigns of Alexander the Great down to the modern Japanese woodcut of our day, form a special problem of historical consideration and can here be only very briefly outlined.

Eastern art first came in contact with European through the campaigns of Alexander the Great. The artistic consequence was the development of Gandhara art, whose period lasted from the second century B.C. to the fifth century A.D. The forms of Europeans rarely appear in it, but Grecian

drapery and the Grecian pose, above all the portrait itself, were carried far into Eastern Asia, and the native in Asia fell under these influences. The earliest representations of Buddha as an artistic human shape are traceable, despite many objections, to Gandhara art. It is common knowledge that in early Indian art Buddha was symbolized only by his footprints, and received no bodily shape till Greek art made itself felt. We know, of course, that the Maurya plastic (from 370 B.C.) shows familiarity with anatomical modelling, but Gandhara art undoubtedly augmented what knowledge was then available of the artistic modelling of the human body. Yet though the influence of Greek art is unmistakable, representations of Greeks or other European nations are extremely rare in India. The connection of East with West existed for centuries from the beginning of the Christian era, but not after Mongolian and Mohammedan peoples erected a barrier. Explorers, such as Foucher, Grünwedel, and von Le Coq, have dealt in detail with the problem of Gandhara art and its solution.

After the collapse of the Western Roman Empire, the victorious campaigns of the barbarians, and later of the Mohammedan and Mongolian peoples, India and the East in the following centuries were severed from Europe, and not till after the time of the great discoveries did they find any chance of meeting individual European nations such as Portugal, France, and England. During this period the presence of Europeans in Indian art is not so uncommon as would appear; in fact, the Emperors of Russia were regarded in the Buddhist religion as incarnations of Buddha. And yet from a general standpoint, despite the close contact of Western nations with India, representations of Europeans from the close of the fifteenth century onwards remained quite rare, as is proved by our material. This may be due to the fact that wide tracts of India were Mohammedan, and on religious grounds human representations in art were compelled to disappear; and to the further fact that religious art had no occasion to revere as God the white man who had conquered the country, or to portray him in profane art. For all that we find individual figures of Europeans, especially from the later period of the English occupation, used both as religious motifs and as ordinary statues. These figures are to-day in museums. The Lahore Museum, for example, possesses drawings and models of Lord Auckland (Governor General of India, 1836–1842), Lord Dalhousie (Governor General of India, 1847–1855), and Sir Henry Montgomery Lawrence, the Anglo-Indian General (1806–1857), who was Commander-in-Chief of the troops and died in Oudh in the great Indian Mutiny;

and others of Lord Dufferin (Viceroy of India, 1884–1888), and of Sir Herbert Benjamin Edwards, and William Moorcraft.

With the entrance of Christianity, Christian motifs also found their way into Indian art; the Lahore Museum possesses statues of the Virgin and of the Madonna and Child, carved according to the Indian artist's conception. Besides these, there is a manuscript made for the Emperor Akbar showing the miracles of Jesus Christ (end of the sixteenth century). Akbar 'the Great', whose full title was Dscheläl ed Din Mohammed, was specially friendly to Europeans, and entertained the Jesuits, so that this manuscript may perhaps trace back to them (Smith). Frequently too Europeans, usually Englishmen, were represented as temple figures, or even as statues of gods. In the temple belonging to the Jaina sect at Cawnpore, there are various sculptures of Europeans that are worshipped as gods, and that could be identified beyond doubt. In the temple garden, which is surrounded with carvings that radiate all manner of colours, and with pillars and gilded ornaments, stand costly vases and the graceful, deceptively life-like bodies of bronze herons and peacocks. On a balcony, in the midst of this display, is the life-size figure of the English Queen Alexandra, wife of Edward VII, in English costume. This statue, surrounded by enormous treasures, is worshipped as holy. In the parapets of the tower, which looks down in brilliance upon the temple bath, there are visible in the hollowed recesses, among precious canopies of stone, other white mortals who were elevated to be gods; there are the English Colonel Stewart, and his entire family. He is sitting, in costly armour, on a rather small horse, and is so huge that his steed appears a plaything in comparison. He is wearing a tall topee as well as his uniform, and raising a staff in his right hand. His clear eyes, beneath his white brow, are arched by strong eyebrows. His is the face of a man of action, who had succeeded in preserving innumerable native temples, which were to have been pulled down after the Mutiny of 1857. In another recess appears his wife in the costume of the sixties. In her case, and that of her son, who is standing beside her, the eyes have been strikingly depicted in Indian fashion by black colouring round them. Mrs. Stewart is wearing a deeply flounced dress gathered up in front. Her son, who has a small black beard, is wearing a top hat with his white clothes. Beside them is their dog adorned with a coverlet. He too, like the whole family, is holy, for the Hindu faith considers that every living creature of whatever kind has a soul.

In the same temple in Cawnpore an English officer and an Army

surgeon also enjoy divine honour. These are General Havelock and Dr. Neill. Mrs. Neill has also been placed among the immortals in the same temple, in gratitude for the unselfish care displayed by herself and her husband to Hindu natives at times of devastating plagues.

As a temple frieze, not as gods, we find Dutch and Portuguese soldiers in the costume of their day, so tellingly portrayed that their nationalities are easily discernible. In Boro Boedoer in Java there is a temple relief representing a European two-masted vessel, which is noteworthy for the artistic nature of the reproduction, and the use of native decoration. In Indian, and especially Malay temples, other white means of transport may be studied, among which the bicycle is to be found in exceptional variety of form.

In the whole of the Eastern and North African world, in so far as they are Mohammedan, or under Mohammedan influence, we shall look in vain for representations of Europeans. The information which I asked for and received from museums in North Africa, India, and the Malay States, always stresses the fact that the natives are Mohammedans, and forbidden by the Koran to make images of men. Occasionally, as for example in the ceiling painting of the Omajaden Castle Quseir 'Amra (Red Castle) in Eastern Jordania, discovered by Musil in 1898, we do find representations of Europeans, even of women and children, dating from the beginning of the eighth century, but such instances are extremely rare and in later centuries vanished altogether. Influences both in style and motif have constantly made themselves felt in connection with Mohammedan and Christian art. We are able to point to many Christian motifs, particularly in the miniature painting of the Mohammedan East, mostly from the seventeenth century (Kühnel), among which is a Mourning of Christ by the Persian painter Rizá Abbásí which is now in the Sarre Collection at Berlin.

More numerous, particularly at the end of the nineteenth century, are representations of Europeans in the art of Abyssinia, the Christian enclave in North Africa. Its style has been strongly influenced by more than a thousand years of perpetual connection with Byzantine art, while the latter on the other hand accepted or assimilated many elements of Coptic Abyssinian art. In more recent years a large number of Abyssinian paintings have reached Paris, thanks to the Djibuti-Dakkar Expedition led by Griaule; but Abyssinian paintings are scattered about in many European and American museums. The war with Italy in 1896, and the crushing defeat on 1st March of the Italian general Baratieri by Menelik II at Adowa, spurred the Abyssinian artists to descriptive art. In the Linden Museum at

Stuttgart is a scene from the battle of Adowa, the work of the Abyssinian Court and religious painter Alaka Elias. It was executed on linen with a brilliant variety of colour. It was originally intended for the new court church, which was at the same time to be a memorial church in honour of

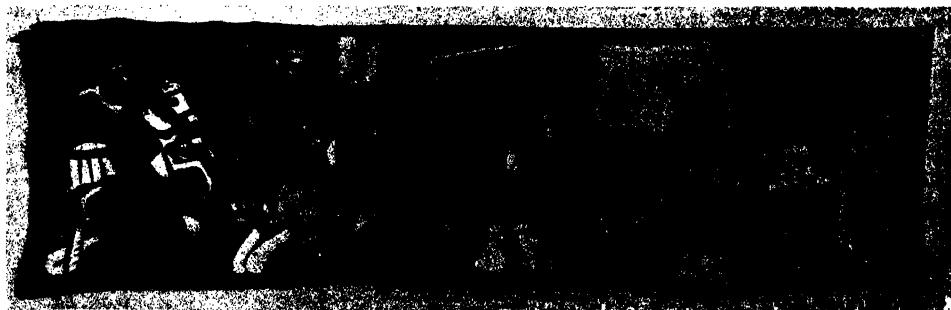


FIG. 6

the victory of Adowa. It shows the Emperor Menelik on his famous grey leading his cavalry against the Italians. Another scene from the same battle, and by the same master (Fig. 6), is even more realistic, and depicts five Abyssinian heroes torturing Italian prisoners. One detail in this painting, which shows the castration of an Italian soldier, was later rendered un-



FIG. 7

recognizable on grounds of good taste or for political reasons. Compare with this Fig. 7 which shows a scene from the battle of Metamma in Gallabat (7/8th March, 1889), fought by the Emperor John against the Mahdists. We see the Emperor, who died of the wounds he received in this battle, advancing in person against the foe, after a section of his

Abyssinians have already taken flight. Keller illustrates a further scene from the battle of Adowa, showing the taking of Italian guns.

It is interesting to note that in these representations friends are shown from the front and enemies in profile. There is one peculiarity, however, in the way Europeans are depicted, and for that reason Fig. 7 is shown for comparison: the Abyssinians are painted darker than the white foes. This is unusual because in Abyssinian Church art, no doubt owing to Byzantine influence, the Abyssinians always appear in lighter colour, with almost white faces.

In Eastern Asiatic art we find hardly any illustrations of Europeans from ancient times to the epoch of the discoveries. An early example from the Han-period is illustrated in Fig. 177, but the specimen is dubious, and at that time the European was barely a conception. In Paris there is also a Chinese earthenware model from the T'ang dynasty, showing a Roman dancer (Cernuchi Museum); and the representation of the Italian traveller, Marco Polo, in the temple of the 500 spirits in Canton goes back to the fourteenth century.

Representations of Europeans in the Eastern Asiatic art of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are more numerous. Figs. 49–53 give a few examples of these, and show that, as regards plastic illustrations, miniatures in the shape of *netsukés* predominate. Usually these *netsukés* are fashioned in ivory or wood and show Europeans from the time of the Dutch East India Trading Company, principally in a vein of caricature. *Netsukés* (Brockhaus) are models intended for use, their purpose in Japan being to contain the so-called *Inro-tins* with perfumes and smelling salts.

From the same period we have various statues of the Virgin with the child Jesus, according to Chinese conceptions (e.g. Hamburg Museum), and many explorers are inclined to see in the representation of the Chinese Goddess of Mercy, Kwan-Yin, nothing but an imitation of the Madonna.

Alongside all these plastic representations of Europeans, it was principally the woodcut and the coloured woodcut that were employed in portraying Europeans and scenes from European life. Woodcut technique had been familiar in China since the eighth century, but the coloured woodcut was not developed till the end of the seventeenth century, and was used most extensively in Japan. Thus it was the Japanese woodcut that was decisive for the impressionist form of ideas in European art. It is true that before the colour woodcut, at the time of the Trading Company, representations of Europeans and European ships appear as paintings on screens and

lacquered tins, most of which on account of their great preciousness belonged to the Court. But the people first became familiar with European culture and its bearers through the coloured woodcut, which frequently took the place of the magazines and illustrated papers of to-day. These woodcuts are often found in the museums of the white world, in fact they actually became artistic objects owing to the white collectors' interest in them. The Rijks Ethnographical Museum in Leiden possesses a number of sheets from the work of the Japanese, Ta-uca-Tai, representing the individual types of white man as the Japanese see them. Englishmen, Americans, Dutchmen, and Prussians are all drawn as completely different personalities, and it would be an interesting task to explain the individual figures from the artist's subjective point of view.

But it was not only the personality of the white man that roused the artist's imagination; his ways of living and his possessions did so as well. We find pictures of the 'foreigners' amusements' in the form of dance performances (Berlin Museum), or of a connoisseurs' concert (Netto-Wagener), or a European banquet, in which the white men are shown with their hats on. The Central Museum in Moscow possesses a coloured wood engraving showing as theme the diplomatic dealings of the Chinese with Europeans, and the National Museum in Copenhagen has an oil painting detailing in pictorial form the Chinese-European tea industry. The first European sailing ships, steamers, tramways, railways, photographic apparatus, and sewing machines were objects of innumerable coloured woodcuts. The features that most struck the Japanese in the white man were his tall stature and the hair on his face and head. So they made white men twice as tall as themselves, and nicknamed them Ke-tojin (hairy barbarians) because of their growth of hair. Frequently, too, foreigners, especially Englishmen, were called 'red devils' on account of their reddish hair. Even to-day the white man on the Chinese stage is usually distinguished by red hair, and quite recently in a large theatre in Peiping *Napoleon and Josephine* was performed with both the leading parts wearing red wigs. The Japanese mother sometimes frightens her child with the threat of the 'red devils', just as the European mother talks of 'the black man'.

In America the art of the Incas, Mayas, and Aztecs, that is America's advanced cultures, has, so far as I am aware, produced hardly any models of Europeans. The reason for this may be that their civilizations were too quickly overrun by the white world, and were in part decaying before the conquerors invaded them. In many codices, however, we find the white

man and his strange animal the horse appearing: and in Mexican pictorial writing the Paleface's horse is represented as more like a dog. But more important is the fact that in the centuries following the conquest of those civilizations a Spanish-Indian mongrel art developed, which took its motifs, in religious art especially, from both civilizations (Dampier, Stübel-Reiss-Koppel), and this process of amalgamation is even to-day not finished.

In this book, therefore, advanced cultural representations have been given only as exceptions and for the sake of comparison, since the artists of these peoples approached the problem of portraying the white man, as we have seen, in an altogether different way from that adopted by primitive tribes, for whom the white man's invasion spelt doom. In the following chapters these primitive peoples hold the mirror up to us as though to say: "Look! That is what you white men are!" In many of these productions they fight, influenced by the white man, with the white man's own weapons, in order to make him understand what they think of him and his civilization. They could not escape his cannon, nor his civilization, nor his gods—and yet in their naïve artistic productions they have frequently borrowed from the white man's world its kinship with the divine. Let us not fail to recognize that their first smile at the white man was at the same time their first sign of obstinacy. The peculiar illustrations of foreigners from Europe and America show us also that the coloured man has seen through the white man's world, that he understands its weaknesses and faults, and that he is beginning, tentatively at first, to consider his own strength. When we are confronted with these works of art, reflection and self-criticism are required. Gauguin, who immortalized some of their figures for the white world, said of primitive peoples: "Above all, they have taught me to understand myself better: I have heard from them nothing but the most profound truth".

C h a p t e r III

THE WHITE MAN'S SHIPS

THE first sailing-vessel that broke on the horizon, the smoke-streamer of the first European steamboat, from which soon after the white man was to come ashore, brought with it a revolution in the whole world of primitive tribal experience. This new white cloud, the sails of their boats slowly nearing the shore, was a thing never yet seen; it was something strange. If these were their ancestors come back from the Land of the Dead, they could be none but their nobles, for no souls but theirs were immortal. They must be worthily received. Or were they the devils of the world below seeking vengeance for divers crimes, committed by members of their tribe?

This unknown messenger from unknown worlds produced among primitive tribes either submission, astonishment, and curiosity, or terror and preparation for flight. The information given by explorers is for this reason completely at variance. The ships of the first white strangers were received either in friendly, in fact solemn fashion, or with hostility. The natives either withdrew inland, or attacked the vessel. Whatever form the reception took, the event was common talk for days and weeks, became the central feature of the tribal life, and was finally reproduced by them either in story or pictorial form.

There is hardly any product of civilization that has received such incredibly varied artistic treatment among primitive tribes as the ship, which first appeared on the coasts of distant continents, but did not succeed in navigating the rivers, till the lapse of time endowed the white man with further mysterious powers. For the ocean-going vessel was not adaptable to river-work; that was the task of the inland steamer. That is why such tribes as the Gilyaks or the Plains Indians, situated in the interior of the great continents, became familiar with the European ship long after the coastal tribes or the dwellers in the Dark Continent, who were perhaps among the first of Nature's children to be visited by civilization. But when the ship became a more common sight, the primitive tribes not only introduced the ship itself into their art, but worked numerous isolated forms of its components into ornaments of dress. We find sailing-vessels, steamers, or anchors in gaily coloured appliqué-work, on the clothes of the San Blas

Indians of Panama (British Museum, London), or painted on the leather shirts of the Plains Indians of the Upper Missouri (first half of the nineteenth century, Frankfurt Museum).

Of course the white man's ship has left the deepest impression in those parts of the world where it was the sole means of approach open to Europeans: in the multitudinous islands of the South Seas. It was always the ship that brought the white man, and with him Fate. Consequently in the museums of the world and in the diaries of explorers appear numerous artistic presentations of this means of communication, this messenger from a life unknown. Above all, Polynesia, Melanesia, and New Caledonia in particular, have provided us with a rich collection of European vessels displayed by means of the commonest of all traditional forms of art, the engraved



FIG. 8

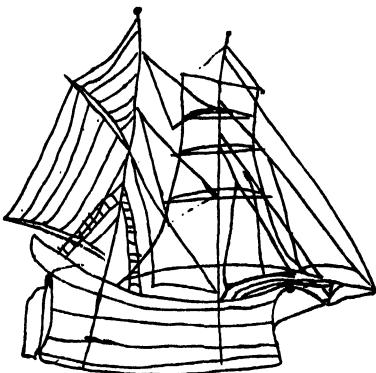


FIG. 9

bamboo. As a rule, except in quite modern times, when the white man brought paper and pencil with him, native material was employed, bamboo-canoe and calabash, worked in colour with the usual engraving instruments.

It is impossible to do even approximate justice to the abundance of these South Sea drawings. Some examples must suffice to make us acquainted with at least the most typical characteristics.

Fig. 8 is an example from the island of Mer (Haddon), and shows, despite the primitive nature of the drawing, all the essential properties of a sailing-ship; the body of the vessel, the mast, helm and sails, though the last-named look more like flags than inflated wind-traps. The relative proportions are accurate, even though the brittle material and the laborious process of engraving did not permit such freedom of line as may be remarked in Fig. 9. Here the explorer (Ribbe) had already given paper and pencil to

the 18 year-old native artist of the Shortland Islands to record his impressions, and this necessarily resulted in cleverer though perhaps less original drawings than the simple outlines of Fig. 8. Evidently the model was a schooner-brig, a two-master, and the general construction is clearly reproduced. Sails, rigging, jib-boom, helm, in a maze of cordage, are clearly recognizable. It is plain that here the technical knowledge and powers of observation of an ocean-going tribe have played a part. Other drawings of similar origin published by the same author exhibit exactly the same technique, differing only in the motif-variations upon a single theme.

The sailing-ship was the forerunner of all forms of European vessels, and it is easy to date the drawings, according as the presentation shows us sailing ships proper, combined sailing and steam ships (i.e. sailing vessels with auxiliary engine), or steamships proper. The paddle-boat did not make its appearance till Fulton's experiment on the Hudson in 1807, after which date it enjoyed a triumphant advance, especially on the large rivers of the United States. As early as 1812 more than fifty paddle-boats were in use on the streams of the North American continent, and in this way a large number of the Indian tribes of the interior became acquainted with ~~the~~ white man's new vessel. On the pattern of the *Savannah* (1819), a combination of sailing and steamship, which was the first of its kind to cross the ocean, similar ships were constructed, which on their voyages of discovery spurred the native artist to delineation. The ship's screw invented by Ressel in 1829 made a further change in the appearance of water-traffic, and in the second half of the nineteenth century the steamship proper without sails visited the shores of foreign seas. These facts enable us without difficulty to establish the dates at which the ship appeared in primitive art; most of the reproductions trace back to the three periods of the nineteenth century already mentioned, and the preference for the combined sailing and steamship is quite definite. This is the main type we find, variously blended with the simple sailing-ship, or the river-steamer, as suggested by local conditions, and the observer's range of experience.

Fig. 10 is a red chalk and pencil sketch from the Torres Strait expedition (Haddon), and was produced from memory by the artist Misi, Port Moresby, British New Guinea. This sketch perhaps gives a hastier effect than the traditional work of older days, but it reveals for all that an exact knowledge of the meaning of screw, rudder, flags, portholes, and lifeboats, the relation between smoke and the funnel, the meaning of rigging, and the significance of the man at the wheel. Here we have the European world embodied in a

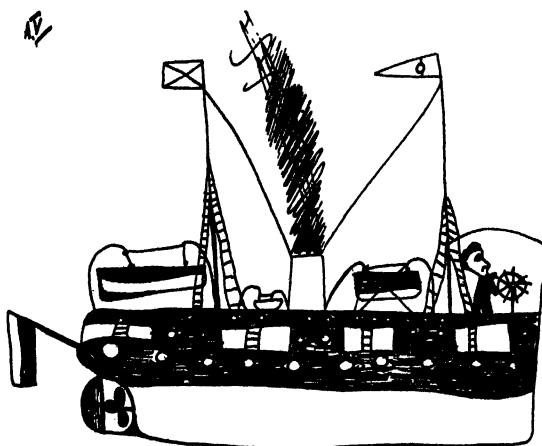


FIG. 10

The scientific student will find most useful for his purpose the work done with and upon indigenous material. The most beautiful examples of this are to be found in engravings, especially on bamboo. Fig. 11 shows an illustration of a bamboo pole, from New Caledonia (Baden National Museum, Karlsruhe). We know that this island was discovered in 1770 by Cook, and taken possession of by the French in 1853. We may therefore in all cases where French soldiers, French hats, and French costumes appear in works of art from New Caledonia, unreservedly ascribe such specimens to

boat, accurately understood, its relationships grasped, and its meaning recognized. Our first two drawings were concerned chiefly with the outlines and general appearance of the ship; this vessel has more personality, and an individual shape. In particular we gather from the exaggerated proportions of the helm that the artist was aware of the importance of the rudder as one of the secrets of good navigation.

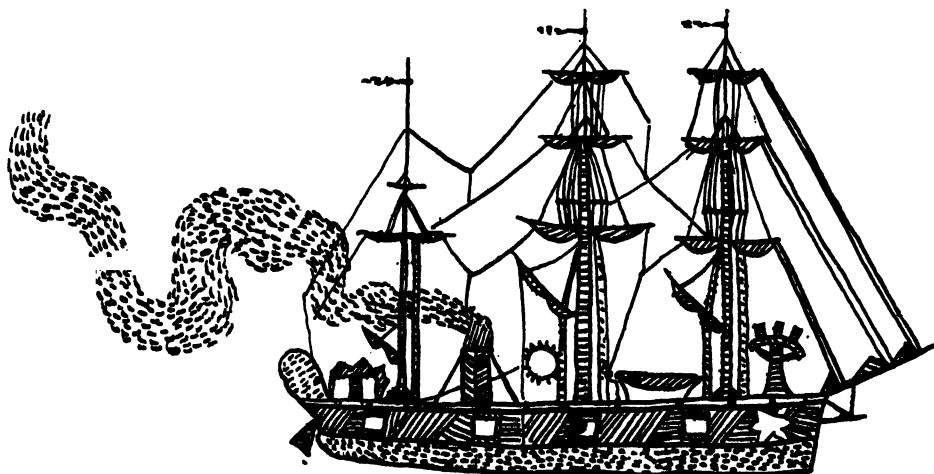


FIG. 11

the second half of the nineteenth century. In this engraving we see French soldiers between geometrical ornaments and native lizards. But the most decorative portion is to be found in the six remarkably fine presentations of European vessels, which, despite the brittle convex medium, are engraved with astonishing exactness. Our selection supplies an example of what has already been mentioned, the combined steam and sailing vessels of the period. The sails are reefed: either the air is dead calm, or the ship is lying at anchor in harbour, but the engine is working. A fantastic smoke cloud of giant proportions is gushing from the funnel, and the thick tortuous smoke is carefully elaborated. This was obviously the first steamer that the natives had seen; its living clouds of smoke were an element of surprise and novelty; to people acquainted with fire, smoke seemed a much more familiar and mightier phenomenon than the stiff surfaces of the mute sails of earlier days. But the sails and sailing-gear have also received meticulous attention: pennants, rigging, jib-boom, nautical instruments, cabin, lifeboat, and rudder are represented with precision. The keel is brought prominently before the eye by a stippling process, and the whole of this magic vessel is surrounded by spider-web rigging, the lines of which are technically meaningless, but geometrically beautiful; it spreads from mast to mast, and betrays the loving care with which the artist has executed his task. These drawings are typical in their precision and artistic composition and are copied in plastic form so accurately that the effect is one of engraved bamboo drawings in three dimensions.

Fig. 12 from the Nicobar Islands, first half of the nineteenth century (National Museum, Copenhagen), provides an example of this. The most interesting thing here is the conception of the three sails of the jib-boom, the flying-jib, the jib, and the foretop-staysail, which are surprisingly like the forms of the numerous bamboo engravings of New Caledonia. This ship, carved in wood, is peopled with strange figures, all of which are on deck. Birds, such as we find on door-jambs and phantom-ships, sit between them, and almost all the living creatures on board this two-master brig are facing the land. Three figures resembling pillars lend the scene a ghostly touch, and behind them stands the largest figure of all, the captain in a top hat. Two other tall hats and a sports cap on the raised poop denote white men, whilst sailors, possibly natives, in pointed hats stand alongside and behind them.

It is impossible to illustrate here many other similar examples. In all this work from the South Seas we note the same artistry of conception, the

geometrically clean-cut line, and the draughtsmanship itself which is evidence of advanced practical knowledge despite the cursory execution. On New Caledonian bamboo-poles we find exceptional renderings, all executed with the same fine technique, of five-tier sails, steamers, and nautical details such as telescopes and signal-masts, scenes of the white man in charge, sailors clambering in the yards, fully-manned lifeboats, and types of sails which remind us of the carving in Fig. 12. Equally numerous are the companion-pieces to Fig. 9, differing only in variety of size and shape.



FIG. 12

But it was not only the outlines of the ship that were thus treated: the artists explored the mysterious interior of the hull, and described it. Sketches from New Ireland (Haddon) indicate the ship's inner compartments (saloon, cook's galley, living-quarters, lavatory, etc.) by drawings on the hull. The phenomenon of the ship was here no new thing; but in time it happened that a friend maybe was engaged as stoker, or a white sailor on some occasion took the inquisitive natives with him, to let them look through a porthole, perhaps actually took them round the mysterious

passages and corridors. Then, when they came to draw a picture of the vessel, they produced it in the usual manner, but the overpowering impressions acquired led them to indicate on the outside of the hull that they knew all about the inside. This inspiration, which made them project on the outside of the hull the ship's interior quarters, is clearly shown in a native drawing from the Marquesas (von den Steinen), where we see in three separate partitions the anchor on the left, the portraits of the cook and the mate in the middle, and a sailor on the right, while the captain logically stands alone on deck, directing the helm. In the Nicobar Islands the European ship made such a strong impression that it found place in a synthetic conception of the native idea of the universe (British Museum, London). Here we have the sun and moon enthroned with Deuse, creator of the world, together with the rainbow and spirits of the departed, above a complete terrestrial sphere arranged in tiers: the upper floors are filled with plants, animals, and dancers; on the floor below is the sea, with fish, mermen, and crustaceans, and upon the sea floats the white man's ship, with manifold variations. From the Maty Islands we get very striking paintings of European vessels, executed in charcoal on a white ground (Linden Museum, Stuttgart), and others of similar technique from Pelew, and the Northern Celebes.

Every tribe welcomes every new thing that reaches it, and to portray it uses its old familiar technique, and the material in common use. The South Sea artists use chiefly the bamboo for their engraving, while in the Arctic and sub-Arctic regions of the Chukchis, Gilyaks, Eskimo, and similar tribes horn, bone, and walrus-tusk are the media. Sydow is undoubtedly alone in his belief that the Eskimo did not learn the art of engraving till the seventeenth century, when they came in contact with Russians. It is quite correct to say that we cannot date any single piece of engraved Eskimo work with certainty as belonging to the centuries preceding contact with the European, but the general civilization of the Eskimo and the dwellers in the Arctic allows us to presume with some certainty that engraving had been known to them for many centuries. In addition, comparison with the engraved art of the Ice Age, especially as it appears in the Limeuil type, strengthens this supposition. Consequently, the engravings and carvings of the Eskimo, representing Europeans and European inventions, fit without any discrepancies into the framework of their whole artistic expression. In Fig. 13, a walrus tusk from Alaska (Ethnological Collection of the University of Zürich), the gentle natural curves of the tusk

itself are emphasized by means of delicate zigzag ornamentation, indicating the horizon, or waves, on which European vessels appear. The large three-masted vessel on the right is fitted with everything that characterizes a sailing ship; yards, jib-boom, stays, and braces are all there. The steam and sailing vessel on the left with the smoking funnel is provided with a diminutive anchor of particularly exact shape.

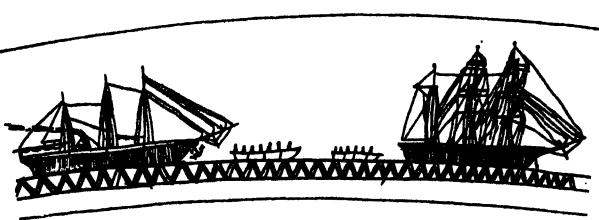


FIG. 13

Between the European ships the crews are rowing to land, and on the portion of the tusk which is not in our picture an Eskimo, perhaps the artist himself, and a seal are watching the proceedings.

In Fig. 14 (National Museum, Washington) the unusual wheel of the steamer was doubtless the main point of interest for the Eskimo artist; consequently, on account of its significance, it was separated from the ship itself, and placed apart. Such stern-wheel boats are in use for river traffic in the United States, but seldom come so far north, which explains the heightened interest of the Eskimo in their unusual appearance. The characteristic lines of the smoking funnel and the deck superstructure are easily recognizable. Possibly we might even establish the exact age of the drawing, for the presence of a stern-wheel steamer of this type is certainly extraordinary and would be likely to be remembered by the tribe. The most famous vessel to explore northern latitudes was undoubtedly Nordenskiöld's *Vega*, and the Chukchis, who got a sight of it on the occasion of the explorer's North-East passage, at once began to use it as a model for their artistic work (Fig. 15) (Ethnographical Museum of Sweden). The drawing, which is executed in red ochre, was produced during the years of that voyage, 1878–1880, and does not, it is true, supply as many details as the elaborate engravings, but is evidence of artistic energy and of strong individual conception, even in our modern artistic sense. Another portrait of a definite ship is Fig. 16 (Central Ethnological Museum, Moscow).

In 1928 the trading steamer *Murom*, working the River Amur, in Eastern Asia, prompted a Gilyak artist to make his pencil sketch of



FIG. 14

this typical river steamer. The wheel drives the boat, not at the stern, but amidships; the construction design and the raised decks clearly indicate a non-seagoing vessel. In this picture the roll of the ship has been caught, while smoking funnels and fog-horns are visible on the high upper deck. Two anchors are displayed on the left in rather fanciful balance. Some attempt is made to depict the surface of the water, and on shore two animals which it is hard to name follow the boat's course.

To these sketches also there are numerous parallels. Drawings similar to Fig. 16 found in the work of the Chukchis, and of the Gilyaks on the Amur, give a symbolical picture of another steamer, *Kamenev*; in fact, completely

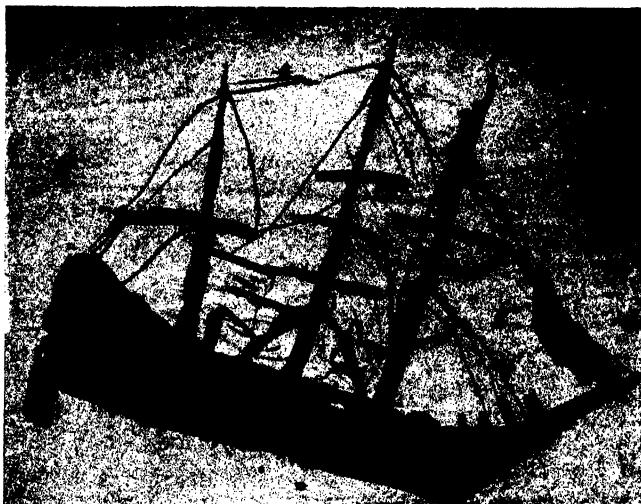


FIG. 15

modern American steamers with wireless aerials occur to-day in the drawings of the Chukchis. Eskimo engravings have been collected in large numbers by explorers, fur hunters, and merchants. A specially fine example is one of the two tambour-needles of walrus tusk from Cape Barrow, Alaska, showing a steamer on a hatched surface, a rowing-boat, a small sailing ship, a whale, a seal, birds, and native figures (Ethnological Collection, University of Zürich). A somewhat irregular piece, apparently a tubular bone from Alaska (University of Pennsylvania), is decorated with summer and winter houses and a beautiful sailing vessel, extraordinarily like the right-hand picture in Fig. 13; whilst a box, with lid, made of reindeer horn (Berlin Museum) has Russian ships from Kotzebue Sound as its ornamental motif.

The relative isolation of the interior tribes of Siberia, of the Plains Indians, and the native masses of South America very seldom or never allowed these tribes to come in touch with Europeans. Consequently primitive sketches of ships from these regions are very rare, and comparatively recent. Fig. 17 is a drawing of a steamer by a South American Indian (Koch-Grünberg). It betrays noticeably less technical knowledge of coherence than the skilful drawings from such places as the South Seas.

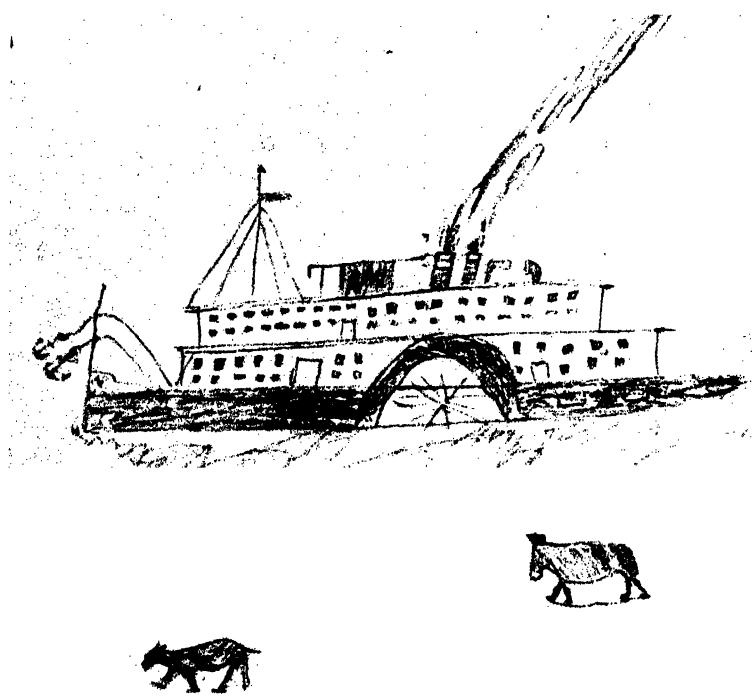


FIG. 16

Here boats were not the white man's sole medium of approach, and so played a less central role in his coming in the minds of the tribesmen. Nor were the natives sufficiently stimulated by their own need for better water transport to become interested in these new vessels. To travel the rivers they had their own light and serviceable craft. It was not worth while plunging too profoundly into a study of the white man's vessels. So the white man stands in the bows, with his hat on and his hand outstretched; flags are streaming, the funnel smoking—that is perfectly plain. But how

the whole thing works, whether by paddle-wheel or screw, is left quite unexplained, and as the understructure reminds one of the oared galleys of earlier centuries, we get a still more perplexing problem. But the 'oars' are no doubt sacks of sand, hung over to avoid friction against the landing-stage.

Fig. 18 will give a good idea of the many reproductions of European vessels with which the inhabitants of the Dark Continent were the first to become familiar. True, it is a relatively modern drawing, but it affords an excellent idea of the black man's conception. The Negro has represented the white man's ship in numerous engravings, on calabash, on the walls of his huts, on stone and wood, and finally on paper. The artist in our illustration, a farm-hand from East Africa, would seize any stray piece of paper, in

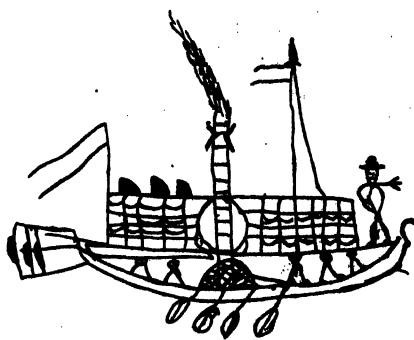


FIG. 17



FIG. 18

this case an old newspaper, and begin to paint on it, with black Indian ink, the objects that most impressed him in a European boat. His vessel was a warship, and therefore a complete floating fortress, full of powerful weapons, and that was precisely what took the painter's fancy. So he devoted himself to an exact portrayal of two guns, a large mortar on the left, and a small

one on the right, on the match of which the white man has one hand, whilst with the other he holds to his eyes a telescope which is directed on the enemy. Behind him, considerably higher than the two smoking funnels, stands another look-out with a still longer telescope, and the artist has caught the feeling that the most trifling cause would produce a full roar of artillery. This bellicose symphony is framed in a mass of pennants of various patterns, and on the warship a well-drawn steam pinnace is visible.

To make not only a drawing, but a model of a vessel, requires a very special interest. The work calls for great care, and as the result possesses neither magic power nor practical value such models are rare. We have given one example in Fig. 12, a drawing that has been, so to speak, turned into a model. Where such examples of craftsmanship are more frequent, they should probably be attributed more to the influence of a white man than to the creative bent of the artist.

But the state of affairs was different when, as sometimes happened, the European owned a vessel in which most of the hours of the day were

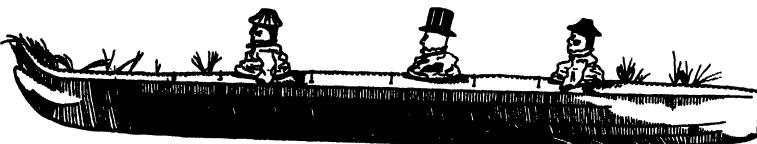


FIG. 19

spent, and the ship itself became the centre of every activity. It was in such cases well worth while carving a model of the ship as was done (Fig. 19) in the beginning of the nineteenth century by a Koniaga Indian from the north-west coast of North America (Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Mass.). It was not a European boat, but a native canoe; its skipper was a white man, and the artist has properly placed him in the middle, in top hat and tippet, between himself and another member of the tribe. It is interesting to remark in this carving the attention paid to the expression of the racial differences between Europeans and natives, and the rather haughty and masterful features of the white man.

Numerous slate and steatite carvings of European ships represent the work of Indians from the north-west coast of North America, of which Fig. 20 (Trocadéro, Paris) provides an example. From other similar pieces (in the Royal Scottish Museum, in the Berlin Museum, and from our Figs. 63 and 167) it may be concluded that the triangular structure in the middle is meant to indicate a cabin. To left and right of it are seated figures

in European dress, coat, and trousers, with the seams partly showing, and European shoes on their feet. The faces, too, are conclusively European. The demeanour of the four persons gives no very certain clue to nationality, though the peculiar position of the rudder might be of assistance in



FIG. 20

determining it. Models of ships have been most plentifully produced in Africa; many of them are so complete that I have here intentionally selected one of the most primitive of the types, since in material and execution it appeared to be the most original, and most genuinely native (Fig. 21) (Lisbon Geographical Society). It comes from the Maputo (Mozambique), and is shaped from the pith of a tree called the Bimba tree. This steamer, with lifeboat, gangway, portholes, and above all two derricks with suspended loads, implies a great devotion to the task in hand, and is obviously the work of a clever native with a head for detail.

Another ship's model from Angola (Lisbon Geographical Society) might adorn the mercantile shipping office of any capital; it is the complete model of a French steamer, which was the handiwork of a native of Cabinda. Here there is nothing missing, from the sloping funnel to the even trellis-work of the rails, from the deck superstructures,

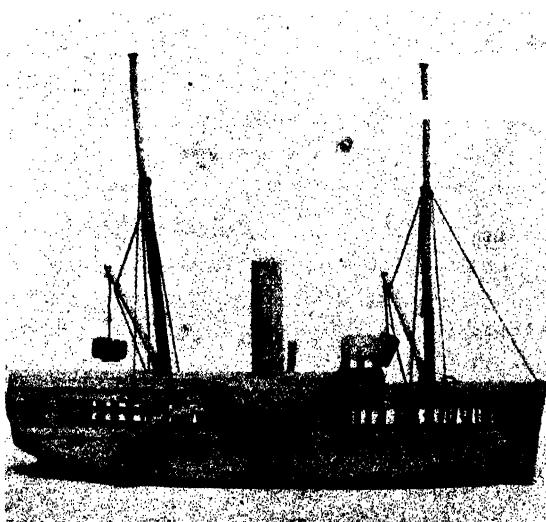


FIG. 21

pilot-bridge, and derricks, to the flagstaff and wireless mast. But the last named points to quite modern origin.

A similar example is a steamer model from Duala in the Cameroons (Linden Museum, Stuttgart), which, with its precise details and proportions, its finely carved anchor, and its dapper lifeboat, is the creation of a mind for which the civilized world has no more secrets.

One fact stands out as peculiar. On the innumerable carved elephants' tusks which are to be found to-day in ethnological museums, the black man has represented the white man and almost all that civilization has given him, but he has not shown the white man's ship.

In the material known to me I have not found any such work, though I did find a carved European anchor on an elephant tusk in the Trocadéro. A bas-relief from Dahomey (*Le Hérissé*) dating from the earliest meeting with the white man has only a piece of ship's decoration worked into the composition, so that it is not clear whether the illustration of a European ship was here actually attempted; the only clear suggestions of such a thing are the anchors, portions of which project from the keel, and a cross which the passenger on deck is holding in his hand.

Wherever it appeared, the white man's ship had a great revolutionary influence on the whole life, and so on the art of primitive man. It brought, not the white man only but his wares, and his power, his medicines and his religion—his whole world. It was the herald of a new epoch, which for the native tribes always meant an epoch of ruin; it was the evil spirit which neither they nor their gods could withstand. Though the appearance of the ship from foreign shores may have enriched native art, either by its general form, or through the details of its sails, its cabins, its funnel and its anchor, it always initiated the annihilation of native civilization. It was the herald of death, not only for individuals, but for the tribe collectively. With the ships of the white men came the white world, the white soldier, the white merchant, came doubt and calculation into the life of primitive men, and shattered the harmony of their centuries of culture.

C h a p t e r I V

E U R O P E M A R C H E S I N

THEY clambered down the ship's gangways, they pushed into the heart of the country. Their characteristics were the plural number and the uniform, their all-victorious magic was the rifle. Wherever they came, no arrow, however well aimed, was any use, no resistance by primitive means. They were the executive organ of the white man's power, the medium of victory and colonization: soldiers! They were more inaccessible than the god of thunder, not to be bribed with any manner of sacrifices or prayers, not to be duped by any stratagem of war. They received commands and they acted. In this way they became the chief factor in the life of the natives. They did not missionize: they did not haggle or negotiate; they shot!

They arrived in masses, overpowering and conquering. Thousands and thousands of portraits the coloured man has made of them, either to chronicle them in the history of his tribe, or to exorcise their magic power, or to compel them, by reproducing them on his native utensils, to communicate their power.

What makes the soldier? The rifle. Therefore pictures of soldiers are chiefly pictures of rifles. What is there striking about a soldier? The uniform. We shall see some remarkable reflections of this uniform. Is the soldier a personality? No. He is a mass-factor, one among many, and is consequently usually represented in the plural, as is fitting. Lack of space frequently permits our reproducing only a few representative paintings or engravings from a whole series of battle scenes or groups of soldiers.

But there is another kind of soldier, the one who has to command, the one who possesses more stars, buttons, and shoulder straps: the Officer. He is a conception, an individual. He is brought into prominence. He stands apart from the uniformed rank and file, and we shall soon see how exceedingly keen is the observation of his personality.

Other soldiers too are frequently alone: on sentry-go, cleaning rifles, playing the concertina in the evening, or on special watch. They, too, emerge from the mass of uniforms, become individuals, and are exactly studied. We shall become acquainted with their mechanical stupidity and the whole gamut of soldier peculiarities, which our so-called primitive savage has

recognized with critical reflection, and skilfully portrayed. He must have had to obey many a loudly roared word of command, powerless to raise his simple weapon against the rifle; but he parried the blows received in a quiet but effective manner in his art, by planning and completing his works with mockery, thirst for revenge, and the haughtiness of the creator. He was only making use of a form of combat that has again come into vogue—the duel with spiritual weapons against the crude bearers of stark force—and he has often triumphed, though maybe with discreet concealment. Many of his erstwhile oppressors have long since been stripped of their power, or have voluntarily renounced the use of it against the son of the wilderness. But his old-time documents remain a mute and potent indictment. We need only think of the picture-documents of the Plains Indians, which were chronicled as bare records in the shape of 'winter counts' by the Sioux, Comanche, and many other tribes, and remain enduring witness to the crimes of civilization and its massacres of the old nobility of a continent. This earnest, positive testimony suits the mentality of the Indian, whilst the black man, on the other hand, recognized that ridicule can kill, and that all that is needed to caricature an oppressor is to portray him exactly as he is. At most a few small details were exaggerated, to give heightened effect to the whole, and precisely the same means were employed as those which the modern satirist, in his quest of the startling, is bound to adopt.

The rifle is undoubtedly the chief thing; everything else in the soldier's portrait is decided by the individuality of the artist. The manifold variety of uniforms, body pose, and national characteristics of the European in native art is amazing. The soldier, of course, being the first European model, and totally different in the possibilities he gave the artist from the stiff wealth of form provided by the ship, was likewise treated according to the native conception of design, whether as a completely personal and very realistic carving from the studio of the African artist, or in conformity with preference for ornament, as an æsthetic figure in the engravings of the South Seas.

It is obvious that savage tribes which devoted to the arrival of a ship such deep and expert consideration as did those of the South Seas would give equally careful attention to the persons disembarking from it. The people who left the ship clambered first of all into small boats, which came through the surf and provided the natives waiting on shore with plentiful material for inquisitive study. They were groups of soldiers, never isolated persons, and so it was natural for the artist to group them among the

ancient forms of geometrical ornamentation as a frieze, or as individual figures built into a symmetrical whole. Once again it is the bamboo poles of New Caledonia which offer the most varied examples.

Fig. 22 (Ethnological Museum, Berlin) is a detail from one of these. The body of the soldier presented is first sketched in a small diamond-pattern outline, and then completed with contour and supplementary lines. The face consists of a triangle with the hypotenuse uppermost, and from the mouth projects a tobacco pipe. The wild streaming hair is denoted by parallel lines. The general appearance is one of unreality, but the rifle in the right hand is treated with all the more express detail, and provided with cross-hatched butt, trigger-guard, and enormously exaggerated hammer.

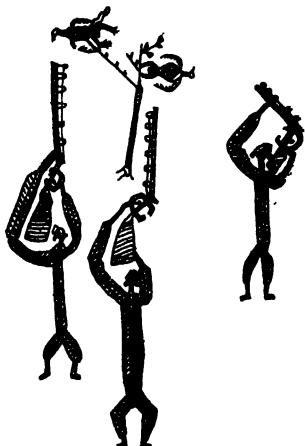


FIG. 23

Fig. 23 shows another section of the same pole. Here, on a tree in the middle of the picture, two birds are being shot. All the shooters, therefore, are holding their guns pointed vertically at the birds, and as the man on the right is a little too far away to allow the same direction of aim, his gun-barrel is bent at an angle of ninety degrees. The bodies are built up throughout in tiny diamond pattern. All the right arms are considerably thicker and longer than the left. The greatly exaggerated trigger-guards of the guns are of bracket horseshoe shape. Taking it all round, a curious piece of work, a deification of the art of shooting, which, though it shows complete ignorance of the simplest fundamentals of

perspective and guncraft, possesses much ornamental and pictorial charm.

In Fig. 24 also, a detail from another New Caledonian bamboo pole in the same Museum, the love of composition predominates. This drawing reminds one of the final scene in a revue: the four

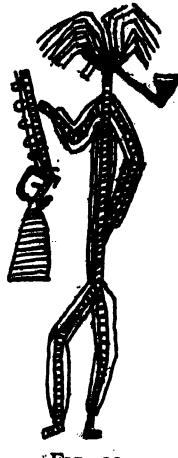


FIG. 22



FIG. 24



FIG. 25

figures in it hold the same pose, right arm on the gun, left arm resting on the hip, legs and profile turned to the left. In the faces the curious convex eye strikes the attention, whilst the shoulders and upper parts of the body, drawn without neck, are in the three left-hand figures box shaped, but in the figure on the right run in a long unbroken line into the legs. The képis make it plain that we are looking at Frenchmen, and the illustration dates, therefore, from the second half of the nineteenth century. The scene is in part painted red.

Beside it is a second revue group, showing a

front view of the soldiers with tobacco pipes; some of them actually have two rifles each.

To quite a different style of grouping belong the black soldiers engraved on a New Caledonian bamboo pole, in the Vienna Ethnological Museum. They are much more figurative, show no traces of hatching, and look like drawings in Indian ink (Fig. 25). The pose of all the figures on these poles is the same: the round head with hat or cap is placed upon a body like an inverted cone, the legs are X-shaped, the handless arms are bent and, when soldiers are reproduced, as in our picture, carry guns, but otherwise are symmetrical.

The strongly composed group of Fig. 26, charcoal drawings on a whitened ground, from the Schuwulu in the Maty Islands (Linden Museum, Stuttgart), reminds us at once of the pictures of ships of the same type already mentioned. The soldier ornamentation is on a wooden slab, and shows a chain of four similar figures, artistically arranged, two of which are here depicted. The oval heads on a short thread of neck are clearly small when compared with the over-proportioned butts, trigger-guards, and hammers of the rifles. We see once again that in such pictures the most important features receive the largest amount of space: natural proportions play no part when

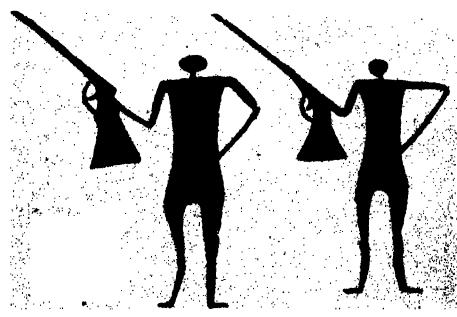


FIG. 26

the significance of some object or other has to be given particular emphasis.

Hundreds, in fact thousands, of soldiers' figures are to be found on the bamboo poles, calabashes, and wooden tablets of the South Seas. The object is varied with inexhaustible originality. The New Caledonian poles and canes show the chief object, the rifle, sometimes raised above the men's shoulders, frequently juggled with the left hand or, as in Fig. 23, twisted in a curious manner in order to obtain some kind of logical connection with an object next to it in the picture. Frequently, too, swords or side-arms are visible, or the soldiers hold one another's hands as children do when playing ring-o'-roses. Between groups with legs twisted out at right angles and guns held vertically above their heads move riders on curious small horses or French officers with canes in their hands. On another pole (as with all those just mentioned in the Berlin Museum) all the soldiers have surprising 'hour-glass' waists. The faces are triangular, quadrilateral, half ellipses, bare or hatched, and plainly treated as of secondary consideration, since only two things mattered: the rifle, and the general ornamental effect. The legs often end in feet at right angles, or in splay-toes like cock's feet, frequently in two parallel poles with no feet. The rifle, as the main article, is often of giant size. Riders are seated side-saddle on strange horses. Another similar New Caledonian piece (Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum, Cologne), with the same technique, again shows mass representations of soldiers with rifles stretching far above their heads, some of the rifles consisting only of barrel and butt. Cavalrymen are astride goblin horses, which they control with the right hand, whilst the left holds a rifle and aims horizontally ahead. Birds fly level above the heads of strange huntsmen in uniform, between whom great rifles may be seen.

The soldier motif is also introduced in plastic work for daily use, and here we should specially note a betel-box made of gourd from the island of Sumba (Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum, Cologne), with military figures. Many of them are riding or driving excellently drawn horses, and are wearing flat caps, or caps adorned with a tassel or a point, resembling the uniform of French sailors. Others have fixed bayonets. The rifles are more a matter of simple line, and not so strongly hatched; many of them have a strap by which they can be slung, or consist only of a butt and a fragment of barrel. Between these European soldiers are barefooted natives with crowns on their heads and implements somewhat like fly-brushes in their hands.

In these examples from the South Seas, the drawings are far more numerous than the plastic work. We have scarcely any conclusive examples among our material of definite models of soldiers, unless we class as such the Europeans with rifles or lances illustrated in the next chapter, who served to scare away spirits, but neither the plastic work nor the original data supply any justification for this. On the other hand, the appearance of the gaily-coloured foreign soldiers and sailors usually found a distinct echo in the carefully composed ornamental art of the South Seas, and in many cases it is even doubtful whether the object represented or the love of ornament was the embryo of a drawing.

Quite different characteristics are given to the white soldier by the North American Indians in the plastic work of the north-west coast, and in the realistic historical paintings, especially of the Plains.

About the mnemonic historical paintings of the Plains Indians there is considerable material to hand in museums and in literature, most of which has actually been published ; I can therefore limit myself to brief references, especially as our main subject is chiefly plastic work, and not drawing. The Plains Indian has recorded his encounters and struggles with foreign soldiers chiefly in the form of his 'winter counts'. These were in no way intended to be works of art, but purely aids to memory, notes on tribal history which they could later easily read off in chronological order, from the buffalo hides, teepees, or other objects on which they were painted. In the form of these 'picture-writings' (Mallery), battles among the Indians themselves (Schoolcraft), and the first meeting between the redskin and the white man, and finally the battles between the Indians and the white men have all been recorded. We find too a Chippewa drawing (Donaldson) which shows the first meeting of the tribe with the white man. This is one of the few pictures which seem to be a conscious caricature of the Paleface. He is a ridiculous figure, striding up to the Indian with one hand on his top hat, and the other on his sword: the Indian has in one hand the pipe of peace, and in the other his battle-axe ready for the onset. It is interesting to note the anthropological differences in the lines of the faces, a sign of the precision with which the characteristics of the white races were observed. The Indian, in the full realization of his power, is drawn almost double as large as the white man, whose smaller figure is doubtless intended to express his inferiority.

The picture chronicles are universally familiar, such as those of the Sioux chieftain Red Horse, who fought in the battle of 25th June, 1876, at

the Little Bighorn River, which appeared in world history under the name of 'Custer's massacre', and was the last battle in which the red sons of America came off victorious against their white masters. The presentation is naturalistic, and in varied colours. We can follow with dramatic exactness the fight at close quarters—the white man pitching from his horse, the victorious Redskins, and most precise details of the locality. In the same style is the ink and coloured pencil drawing by another Sioux (Milwaukee Public Museum, Wisconsin), in which an Indian in full feathers and war-paint is shooting an emissary of the Government from his saddle, and the warrior reminiscences drawn by an old Dakota native in a New Testament (Ethnological Museum, Berlin). The Crow Indians also have perpetuated the battle of the Little Bighorn in a colossal painting to be found in Stuttgart (Linden Museum). Cheyenne paintings of the same or a similar kind are also well known. All these pictures and chronicles centre round the same theme: the first invasion of the white man, the fearful battles for power, land, possessions, and life, the brief victories of the Indians, and the final triumph of the intruders, which ended with the decimation and repression of the country's original inhabitants.

From Texas comes the scapula of a buffalo with Comanche drawings (Schoolcraft), on which the Indian astride his horse with lance and shield is, after a long pursuit, in the act of killing a Spaniard equipped with a rifle. A second Spaniard, indicated like the first by hat and costume, will shortly share his fate. It is most important to realize clearly that the white man in the pictorial art of the Plains Indians appears only as a catalytic agent in the historical happenings. There are few portraits of him and very few caricatures; he is depicted only when he had in some way become important or fateful in the history of the tribe. If he came as a soldier, to wrest from them their country and with it their means of livelihood, he was bound to figure for a time in the chronicles. If he left them alone, and kept his distance, his oft-seen face, his rifle, and his uniform were not sufficient incitement to call for a picture from memory. He was completely ignored.

The Mexican Indian has employed far more picturesque and æsthetic methods of reproducing the struggle of his people with the white intruder. In the middle of the sixteenth century were produced the now familiar paintings of the so-called *Lienco de Tlascala*, who shows us, in a series of eighty-six pictures, the battles of the Conquistadors: his work is the typical and highly developed pictorial art of the Tlascalans who fought on the victorious side with the Spaniards (*Junta Colombina de Mexico*).

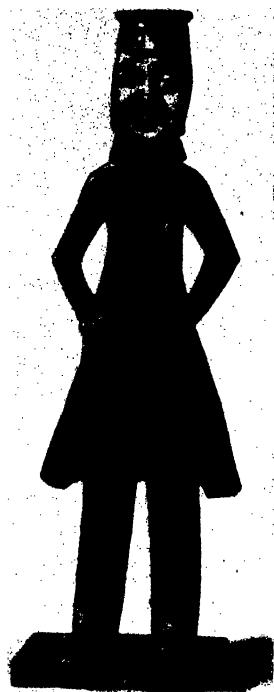


FIG. 27

In contrast with these historical paintings we have the plastic work of North-West America, with its inimitably realistic delineation of the European soldier or sailor. Fig. 27 from Sitka is one of these carvings on slate, an intentional portrait and deliberate model of a Russian soldier. He is cold: his hands are hidden in his pockets, his head and his ears are protected with a cloth cowl; his primitive observers were unable to forget him in that garb, and that is how they shaped him. His shoulders are drawn up so high that the collar of his uniform completely hides his neck. His trousers end in mighty boots, and only his face with its small beard is exposed to the cold. The figure is alive, full of a fine mockery, and in addition, from a craftsman's point of view, the product of a clever artist's hand. A similar plastic with a strong vein of caricature is illustrated by Whymper.

Just as full of life and acute comprehension is Fig. 28, a wooden statue from the Kwakiutl or Nootka, of a European sailor from the north-west

coast of North America (Ethnological Museum, Berlin). This mate is standing in a slovenly attitude with his hands in his pockets, and wearing a stiff hat (which indicates the age of the figure). His tapering trouser-legs, which have no feet, do not make him at all unnatural, for the pockets that are bulging with the hands inside, the low-cut neck, and the waistline of the smock, the long but well-trimmed hair, and the stoical contented face, turn this seaman into a sympathetic living character that might have come out of Dickens or the worlds of Crusoe and Gulliver.

Among the rare pictures of soldiers by South American natives, mention should be made of a glazed faience from Ecuador, showing two Ecuador soldiers and an officer riding a stiff horse (Ethnological Museum, Leipzig). Artistically it is far from superior, for the masters of the plastic figure are, as we know, to be sought elsewhere, where acquaintance with the white man was of long standing, where keener gifts of observation, love of sarcasm, and clever hands had mastered in peculiar fashion the secrets of the sculptor's art, among the African negroes and, above all the West Coast negroes who

are the authors of inimitable works. Even in engravings on calabash, the negro expressed in buffoonish manner his command of his art (Götenborgs Museum), in a cross-hatched drawing of a fantastically-formed warrior, aiming his rifle at a human mark. But his greatest field of achievement is figure-carving.

It is not necessary to have had a military training to be able to appreciate the beautiful figure of a soldier from Dahomey (Fig. 29) (Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum, Cologne). Is it not plainly a memorial to the simple soldier, the soldier of all peoples and all fronts, marching away

with his rifle wherever he is bidden, without any room in his low brow for any thoughts of his own? All his brain can do is to listen to commands, and pass them on to the feet in their awkward shoes, or to the hand that fires. It is hard to decide whether the profile or the front view of this good "Tommy Atkins" is the more characteristic. The profile shows clearly the shape of the head, the képi, cartridge-pouch, and slightly curved back, the complacency of the stupid but crafty expression on the face, but of course we lose here the advantages of the front view. From the front we see that the rifle is provided with a bayonet, we can count four beautiful round



FIG. 28



FIG. 29

buttons on the tunic, and special attention has been devoted to the belt, which on the left side is pulled down by the weight of the sword. The sleepy expression of the face is more plainly visible from the front. The left hand is resting severely on the trouser seam. One wonders whether the author of this work of art was conscious of his own knowledge of man and the irony of his psychology, or whether he may have carved this figure in playful mood, to represent one typical soldier as a merry satire against militarism. Certainly the human appeal of this simple soul in uniform endears him to the beholder.

The well of African masterpieces is inexhaustible. They centre on the soldier, the powerful and withal ridiculous figure which carries the almighty rifle over the shoulder, yet dare not use it at will, but only on the command of a third party. The infantryman's brother, the more mercurial sailor, does not show his rifle half so often. He is seen in merrier attitude, and in the evening he plays the accordion (Fig. 30). His portrait comes from Dahomey (Trocadéro Museum, Paris). The huge turned-up straw hat shadows a bold face of dark colour, with bright eyes gazing into distance, and a typical sailor's imperial. The thong of his instrument runs over the shoulder of his dark jacket with white facings. The straight legs are dressed in white trousers and end in enormous flat shoes, which are fastened to a round base. There is considerable art in the fingers of both the coarse good-natured hands.

The superior French officer has also come from Dahomey (Fig. 31) (Linden Museum, Stuttgart). His uniform is the essential thing: it was certainly its splendour that inspired the black artist. He possesses all that a simple man finds imposing in an officer, a képi with peak and badge, epaulettes of magnificent breadth, arm-badges, breast-strap, coloured jacket, and trousers with stripes showing his rank. Only one small mistake has our craftsman made; he has converted the bottom of the trouser legs directly into shoes. He was unable to distinguish between the abundant material of the trousers and the slimmer leg that it concealed, and has therefore produced shoes that have a somewhat orthopaedic effect and damage the elegance of the commanding officer. The face is certainly rather hidden by the képi, but the style of beard easily proves the man to be French.

Figs. 32 and 33 (Ethnological Museum, Dresden) are specimens of coastal art from Dahomey. When we consider the figure of the French soldier with the cigar in his mouth, we cannot but admire the skill of the

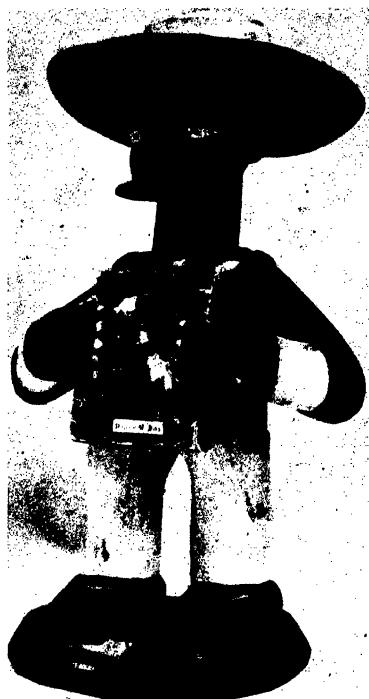


FIG. 30



FIG. 31

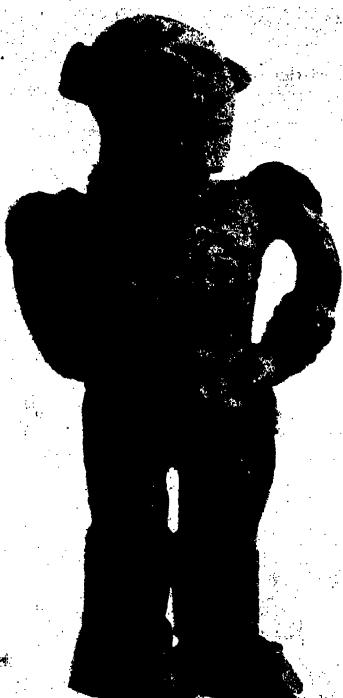
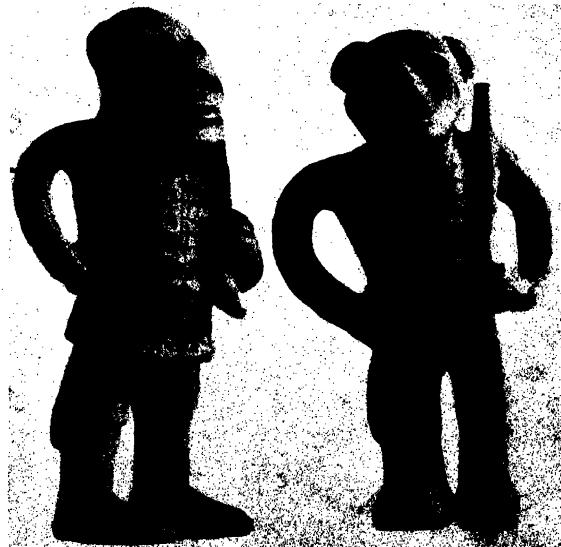


FIG. 32



negro's characterization. Here is a man who is accustomed to give orders, his right arm thrust in Napoleonic manner into the opening of his jacket, and his left resting lazily on his hip. His imperial is most carefully trimmed, and the expression of his eyes and his mouth is as nonchalant as it is self-conscious. His uniform bristles with everything that goes to make the splendour of officer's rank: broad epaulettes and stripes, shoulder-straps, belt, and above all the display of orders on the left breast have been observed, admired, and depicted. Splendidly modelled boots with ventilation holes denote the best leather; on his left side the object hanging down is probably a side-arm. So much for the exterior. But words fail one to describe the full effect of this composition, the absolutely perfect delineation of a somewhat vain and masterful officer, whose very self-sufficiency makes him good-natured. He is here the representative of a great nation, and his power, splendour, and human failings have been caught and reproduced with consummate professional skill.

Not till we get sight of Fig. 33 (Ethnological Museum, Dresden) do we fully realize the whole charm of the officer himself, for these two soldiers, his subordinates, show the same technique—they are also modelled in clay and painted, but with such fundamental differences that the complete mastery of the art of distinguishing military types is not obvious till we compare the three figures. If in Fig. 32 we saw the principle of Power, in Fig. 33 we see the incarnation of crass obedience, of military discipline, of unreasoning submission, of the stiff execution of commands devised and issued by another. The rounded ears are placed much too high, and are small and curved like the ears of a teddy-bear. The eyebrows are low and flat, the eyes are opened wide in loutish attention, and the mouths are soldiers' mouths, just as quick to form an oath as the everlasting "Very good, sir". Involuntarily, on looking at these two masterpieces of brainless discipline, we are reminded of another masterpiece, Fig. 29, which has the same origin, and presents the soldier as an obediently complacent idiot. But whereas in the wood-carving equal stress is laid on all details of uniform, as well as of facial expression, these clay figures undoubtedly stress the facial expression; and if the brave fellow in Fig. 29 seems to have some fund of mother wit and humour, the two doughty warriors of Fig. 33 are more raw, more stupid, and more devoid of any intellectual talent. On a closer inspection of the decorative scars on their cheeks, scars which are the distinguishing mark of natives, and not to be seen in any other model representing Europeans, it seems fairly probable that we may be dealing with

Askaris. A charming but hypothetical suggestion is that we have before us here the sign-manual of a native artist, who thus engraved the mark of his own tribe upon the cheeks of his figures.

However that may be, we are looking in Fig. 33 at soldiers in European pay, and accustomed to obedience. Compared with the uniform of the officer in Fig. 32, their equipment is only suggested in the sketch: a diamond pattern has been engraved on the jacket and trousers, while the buttons are just round impressions, and the sword-belt a moderately high pad round the hips. Both figures are provided with sidearms and rifle, and the hands of these soldiers find no time for lazy movements (Fig. 32), but are where they should be, on their weapons. The suggestion of toes makes it probable that both are barefoot: to interpret what we see as boots would bring the execution of the feet far below what we found in the case of the officer. The longer we study these models, the finer are the traits revealed, and the greater becomes our astonishment at the skill of the black artist.

A further example from Dahomey is the dashing officer in Fig. 34, who despite his youth seems to hold high rank. The technique of wood-carving permits a smoother line than does the clay model. Here we have a completely different type of man portrayed with quite different means of expression, and it is much more impressive than the preceding figures (Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum, Cologne). This officer wears a gold-embroidered spray on his collar. Two medals and a broad breast-strap as well as his wide epaulettes betoken his command. From his tall stiff collar emerges a merry and energetic young face, indicating a strong sense of the gayer side of the soldier's position, a quality which may have endeared him to the negroes, and have occasioned his portraiture. Whereas the old officer in Fig. 32 is already a trifle slovenly, the whole of youth's muscular power and military training are here expressed, and due respect paid to the spotless condition of the elegant uniform. Below the narrow trousers at that time in vogue come small fashionable shoes, which seem to shine, and are very

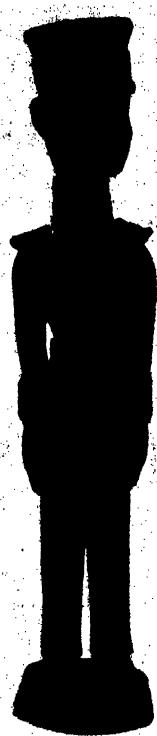


FIG. 34

different from the stout heavy boots of the man in Fig. 32. The latter is bareheaded and smoking his cigar, but the young officer has put his cap on straight, and has both his hands on his trouser-seams. He shows, however, by the easy position of his feet that he is making no military report; possibly our young dandy is taking a last look at himself in the glass, before taking his evening stroll along the only fashionable street which this locality in dark Africa possesses, and which has to do duty in his case for the Champs Elysées.

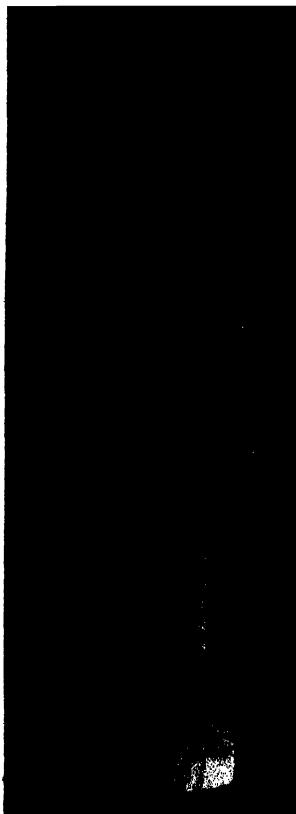


FIG. 35

The gentleman with the puttees in Fig. 35 (Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum, Cologne) can be none but an Englishman, an English soldier or officer off duty. He has discarded the symbols of his military rank, his shoulders droop easily, he walks with a slight roll as if after a long ride. Even his features are peacefully relaxed, the collar of his uniform is open, leaving the neck free, and he has taken off his cap, belt, and weapon. The mark made by the belt has been carefully elaborated, and the artist has devoted his whole attention to the logical and realistic production of the puttees. The feet are encased in small shoes, with ladies' high heels. With what life and perfection has the black artist here caught the English soldier in the interval between duty and repose. We can absolutely see him hastening off duty to the cool and shining canteen, to drink with thirsty lips an ice-cold whisky and soda, before sitting down again to toy with the small swagger cane typical of the English soldier, and flick it to and fro in his right hand.

The counterpart of this Englishman is to be found in a portrait by a Wasaramo artist of a German officer of the former Colonial troops, off duty (Fig. 36) (Ethnological Museum, Munich). Here, too, the interval between duty and repose has been selected, and with what delightful skill is the German gentleman portrayed! Here, too, the weapons are laid aside—he is off duty—but the attitude is still the stiff pose of duty, not relaxed as in

Fig. 35. The abnormally high collar presses on the neck, the arms lie close against the coat of the uniform, the tropical helmet weighs heavily on the head, and the lines of the face are taciturn and strict. This officer seems to have lost his temper on duty, and is, it would seem, unable to enjoy the fact that his rigid face and soldierly bearing are no longer necessary. The Askaris have finished their drill and gone: he is commanding only the empty drill ground. We actually want to see him relax his straightened shoulders and stiff pose, take off his tropical helmet and open his coat. In these two models, Figs. 35 and 36, the black craftsman has given us a remarkable study of the temperamental differences between two white nations.

A vigorous young officer with undeniable likeness to Fig. 34 is to be found in the Brunswick

Museum, and is supposed to have come from the Manjema territory of the Congo. The two figures, in uniform and detail, are so strikingly alike, especially in the facial lines, that some doubts may be raised as to the origin of one of the two pieces. In the Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum, Cologne, and in the Belgian Congo Museum, Tervueren, are to be found a similar pair of painted white stone models of a soldier cleaning his rifle, which come from the Cataracts territory of the Congo.

The merry sentry, Fig. 37, comes from Angola (Lisbon Geographical Society). The little man with rifle and key gives the effect

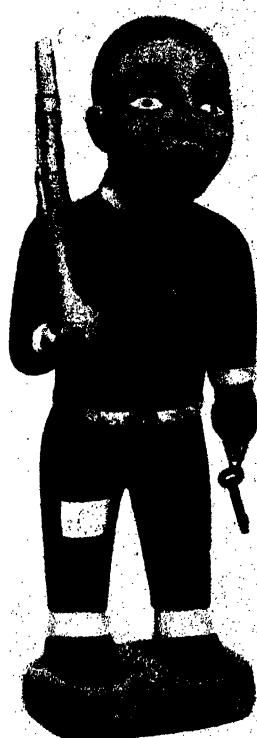


FIG. 37



FIG. 36

of watchfulness personified; here again the essence of the picture has been noted and expressed with acumen. What strikes us particularly in this work is its smoothness, and, as it is a woodcarving, its unusually rounded lines; all the more astonishing if we think of other examples from Angola, such as the clumsy clay officer in Lisbon, with goggle-eyes and giant epaulettes (Geographical Society).

Figs. 38 and 39 are two examples of the countless efforts of the negroes to delineate European soldiers and sailors. The white silhouette painting of the Baja, from the vestibule of the chief's palace in Gaza, is extremely interesting. It shows a French military transport going up the Mámbere (Hartmann). Following their usual custom the black artists have exaggerated what is most important by over-proportioning; the two figures

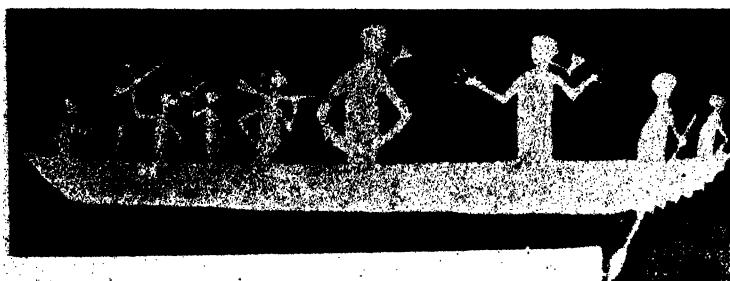


FIG. 38

that tower above all the rest are white men. The locks of the soldiers' rifles and the horns of the players are also drawn out of proportion.

On calabash from the Monbuttu (Belgian Congo Museum, Tervueren) appear the stately figures of Belgian soldiers and sailors (Fig. 39), in which the most remarkable points are the straightened calves, the fine lines of the hatching, and the very exact reproduction of all the details of the rifles.

Similar calabash drawings are produced by the Babwende of the lower Congo, and on one of their pieces (Göteborgs Museum) black soldiers are under the command of a white officer, bearing the name of "Niama", that is, "The Scourger," no doubt a well-earned title.

Of the peculiar engraved and semi-relief art of the Malagash Hova there exist in the French museums numerous examples specially illustrative of European military life (e.g. Trocadéro Museum, Paris). As a rule they are complete scenes, seldom isolated figures. Military bands, soldiers drilling and saluting, mounted officers and French

women with parasols watching the manoeuvres, are so excellently drawn that the style and details of the uniforms are completely recognizable. Even in the European sense the work is exceedingly exact and artistic. We can clearly distinguish the three-cornered hats of the officers, the crossed straps on the breasts of the soldiers' uniforms, kettledrums, flutes, swords, saddle, and harness.

Figs. 40 and 41 provide such examples of Hova art; the former in engravings, the latter in semi-relief carving. The long boards were bed-posts in European style. They show uniforms of the earlier French period. Here, too, horses and military bands, swords and rifles, are very well executed, and almost correct in their proportions. Three female onlookers with parasols are included in the scene.

The artistic expression of the East African cultural circle, which was very largely limited to draughtsmanship, has only rarely produced models of Europeans, and these are generally strongly influenced by European artistic conceptions; in particular the artists of the Suahili may have been inspired in their carvings by their centuries-old contact with Indian civilization. In the Cologne Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum there is a soldier-figure in heavy wood from the Suahili. The straddled legs make it seem probable that the horse has been lost. The soldier is wearing a fez with neck-protection, and closely-fitting clothes. The shoulder-straps with three stars indicate an officer of high rank.

A humdrum sense of obedience and enthusiasm for military drill as an end in itself find voice in a delightful illustration of East African art : Fig. 42, an officer of the German Colonial troops (Ethnological Museum, Munich). Here we find a new device for reproducing puttees in carving, and they are much truer to reality than those of the Englishman in Fig. 35,



FIG. 39

but not so grotesque. The high tropical helmet with neck protector, above the pointed face of this obvious family man, the uniform tunic with buttons, the cartridge-pouches and, most inevitable of all, the hands on the trouser-seams, immediately typify the eternal subaltern; the pointed beard on his chin is as much in place as his gigantic ear ever open to commands. The 'William II' moustache proclaims its own success.



FIG. 40

And now we actually have a colonial defence-officer astride an elephant: Fig. 43 (Peters Collection) depicts his caravan, led by the white man's enormous dachshund. After the dog comes the *bwana mkubwa* (great man) upon a diminutive elephant, a product of the imagination, as in Tanganyika Territory there are no riding elephants. After him comes an Askari in full gear (rifle, side-arms, haversack, flask, cartridge-pouch), a



FIG. 41

porter with a case on his head, and an Arabian Tschausch, or sergeant-major. This elegant piece of work was carved in 1901 by a black artist from the village of Nkongore, about seven kilometres west of Kissarawe, in what was formerly German East Africa. The work was quite unaided. Here again we find that the proportions are matched to the emphasis and novelty of the object, and ignore its natural size. It is for this reason that porter and elephant are relatively so small, the dachshund and the officer so



FIG. 43



FIG. 42



FIG. 44

enormous. We note the exaggerated size of the officer's head, and of his body in relation to his legs; also the rudimentary arms and the stern and definite expression upon the round face. The stupid good-natured features of the Tschausch, fully conscious of his own importance, are remarkably well drawn.

Fig. 44 (Peters Collection) again shows us a colonial officer riding on an elephant even smaller than that in Fig. 43, with the diminutive legs of the rider adjusted to match. Here again the relative sizes are such that the head and the helmet appear huge when compared with the upper parts of the body. The features are genial and rather ingenuous. The original data make it probable that the comrade who is following behind on foot is also an officer. At first when we look at him we get the impression that he is nude—but closer inspection discloses a long row of buttons and shoulder tabs. In his right hand he holds some loose sheets of paper: he may be the battalion or regimental adjutant. His face has an intelligent expression, which is, however, rather disfigured by the projecting upper jaw. The stance of the diminutive legs allows us to suppose that this figure was originally mounted. The craftsman of this group was called Kilewa, and came from Maneromango in Usuramo Land (formerly in German East Africa). Similar military caravans have also been frequently drawn (Weule), and in such work the East African negro shows excellent powers of observation and a fine sense of humour.

Wherever the European officer came, some of the male natives were moulded into a new type of being; they received a uniform and in the end, what they longed for, rifles. They were called Askaris, and received much attention from negro artists in Africa. Berlin possesses a Wasambala sculpture from German East Africa, representing the Askari as a stiff black man, with a cartridge-belt. There is much more life in an ebony model of an Askari in Magdeburg. This comes, as does the native soldier illustrated in Fig. 43, from the region of Kissarawe, and is a Wasaramo product.

Fig. 45 shows one of these simple soldiers in Europe's pay. He is completely guileless, very proud, and fully equipped. He is the owner of a fine rifle, a uniform tunic, boots, and a cartridge-belt, and his barrel-shaped straw hat is detachable. This model is a piece of Suahili work, and part of a troop of soldiers exhibited in 1904 at Dar-es-Salaam. The figure itself and the rifle are the natural wood colour; boots, collar, cuffs, eyebrows, and moustache are painted black.

These Askari plastics are obviously quite recent products, since it was

not till the white man employed the coloured mercenary, and taught him the far more rapid way of spreading death by rifle and machine gun, that the Askari type appeared among the natives. The execution throughout shows very strong European influence.

Benin has supplied us with our earliest and most complete models of European soldiers; the earliest, because for centuries this part of Africa was in contact with white men, especially with Portuguese and Dutch; the most complete, because they are executed in the media employed with such high technical skill by these tribes, bronze and ivory. These materials were less affected by the climate than the models in wood in vogue among other African natives. Out of more than fifty bronzes and ivory carvings of Europeans brought to public notice by Luschan, Pitt Rivers, Hagen, Marquart, Ling Roth, Johnston, Thompson, and others, by far the greater number are portraits of soldiers. It was precisely the chronological setting of Benin art which rendered possible the exceptionally natural representation of weapons and costume found in these groups of soldiers. We find Portuguese warriors, armed with only sword and lance, on horse and on foot, particularly on the ivory cups which appeared in Europe's antique collections a very long while before the conquest of Benin. At that time their origin was disputed. For the most part they date from the sixteenth century.

On the bronze plaques we find European soldiers with cross-bows, mattocks and matchlocks, storming-lances, swords and daggers, often in the uniform and with the equipment of the period of Emperor Maximilian and Dürer, with iron field-caps (*Gugel*) on their heads, and Vandyke collars round their necks.

The bronze plaque, Fig. 46, represents a Portuguese soldier of the sixteenth century, levelling a matchlock arquebus (British Museum, London). He is wearing an iron helmet with protection for neck and



FIG. 45

ears. His clothing is excellently designed for protection against arrows, and he wears a dagger with pincer-like handle in his leather girdle. His hat and stomacher are engraved with very beautiful ribbon



FIG. 46

decorations and the hip covering of the coat of mail is ornamented differently from the narrow trousers. The so-called 'weak knees' to which Luschan so much objected are, on the contrary, a completely

realistic conception and presentation of a soldier about to fire. In this position there is a certain amount of aggression and, at the same time, of preparation against the recoil of the rifle. It is a lovely piece, specially well moulded, and comes from the best period of Benin art.

Similar pieces, but of later date from the eighteenth century, are possessed by Dresden and Berlin. From the sixteenth or seventeenth century comes also Fig. 47, a bronze relief from the royal palace in Benin. Here we have a typical and familiar figure, a long-haired, bearded European soldier with a storming-lance, which is partly broken (Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum, Cologne). A similar piece is to be found in the British Museum.

Very rarely do we find in Benin art a representation of a struggle between two Europeans. The Museum of the University of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia) possesses an exceedingly fine ivory carving of this kind, in the shape of a box on which two Europeans are portrayed in bitter encounter.



FIG. 47

The soldier, like all other phenomena which occupied the observer's imagination, made his entry as Europe's most obvious exponent not only into the country, but also with special emphasis into the coloured man's art. He was a figure that men feared, ridiculed, or revered—an important figure. Whether protection was required against his foreign magic, or his power conjured into use for traditional purposes, he was the man who owned the rifle, and knew how to use it, he was the god of thunder from a foreign land, and to him tribute was due. It is needless to detail the enormous effect of his power—we have only to think of recent events in Abyssinia. But one thing is certain: the native who has seen one of his tribal villages reduced

work of the South Sea islanders. These tribes employ his figure in their drawings and models just as the Arctic-dweller does, who, in a Chuckchi drawing of two Swedes fighting (Hildebrand), has given us the white man in an original pose. Even tribes which in their material and artistic effects are still poor and monotonous have succeeded in varying this theme in a surprising way, and have introduced the white man into the simple ornament of their useful and decorative objects. West Australian tribes, who

wear practically no clothing, have decorated their simple loin-covers with the figure of the European. The male members of the tribe attach great importance to fine embellishment. They colour their hair red with ochre, adorn their breasts with decorative scars, and wear half a mussel-shell on a little string instead of the fig-leaf of Eden. This, and the necklace of kangaroo-teeth, are often their only finery, and have to replace clothing and other trimmings. Consequently the loin-cover has to be beautiful, and is provided with engravings, which are frequently rubbed with ochre to make them more visible.

Our illustration, Fig. 48, shows the typical ornament of West Australia. In the middle of the main ornamentation, which is carried round in four lines, we see two Europeans; the one above is bare-

headed, and has no feet, while the one below is provided with hat and shoes. The free spaces within the limits of the main decoration are filled with simple geometrical figures (triangles, angles, and rectilinear shapes), only two of these positions having any figure decorations: on the left at the top are two emus, and on the right below the middle are presumably two white men, between whom has been engraved a hunting-net of some sort, which does not permit of more detailed description. Similar mussel-shells,



FIG. 48



FIG. 49

in doubt. The *dibbi-dibbi* contains near the top a lovely symmetrical ornament very clearly executed, flanked on the left by a boomerang, and on the right by a fish. The large seated European figure, with a smaller ornament worked in near the chin, and a snake slipping past its feet, is apparently conversing with a fish; under the fish is another decoration that defies naming. The position of the fingers in the figure is



FIG. 50

called *dibbi-dibbi*, are worn on a string as decorations round the neck. Most of them are engraved and rubbed over with ochre. Two very rare and lovely examples from North - West Australia, from the Niol-Niol, are reproduced here in Figs. 49 and 50 (Central Ethnological Museum, Moscow).

Whether the figure in Fig. 49 is that of a woman has not been determined. Face and style of hair are against the idea, but the apron-like clothing leaves us

remarkable, as is the short-cut hair. Much care has been devoted to the shoes.

Fig. 50 is plainly recognizable as a man. His sleeveless costume is worked in fine diagonal hatching, extending without interruption to the legs, whilst the upper part of the thigh and the belt are drawn with emphasis. His left arm is bent at an angle, his right lifted in a manner that is anatomically impossible. Both hands have five fingers, and the thumbs are clearly distinguished. The face with its pointed nose and indication of an ear is a downright 'square head', and represents a typical average European. To the right of this man is growing a tree of symmetrical shape, beautifully hatched; above it, in the middle, are two crossed branches, similarly hatched, and on the right is probably the fruit of a tree. The lower middle is emphasized by a curved line, on which are growing three clumps of grass or shrub, each with four divisions. Between the man and the tree is engraved a wonderfully detailed insect; the accurate head and antennæ are specially striking.

Figs. 49 and 50 are handsome pieces, especially worthy of note if we consider the general civilization of the Australian tribes, and the sharp fundamental differences between the features of natives and those of genuine Europeans.

While the engraved loin-covers and the *dibbi-dibbis* are extremely clever productions of native technique, though simple in design, the Australian drawings provide examples of extraordinary achievement, partly of course owing to European influences. Naturally such pieces as Fig. 51, done in coloured pencil (Ethnological Museum, Berlin), are of more recent date. The bridled horse with European rider, holding a whip in his right hand, whilst the left hand grips the reins is, despite the stumpy legs of the horse, a good piece of drawing and a strikingly successful portrait. The European is wearing a top hat, bright trousers, dark shoes, and a jacket with buttons. Behind the horse comes hopping a small wallaby, partly to show us that we are in Australia ; the animal is quite correctly rendered, with its forepaws drawn in, and is propped on its tail.

Fig. 52 (Brough Smyth) surprises us by the resemblance of its figures to those of the illustrations to the novels of Dickens. It comes from Victoria in Southern Australia, and is characterized by its discoverer thus:

"It is a copy of a very spirited sketch of two groups of squatters drawn by a native lad. The attitudes are admirable, and clearly indicate the humorous train of thought passing through the mind of



FIG. 51



the lad, who must have been a good observer and a good mimic. Many of the young men have a taste for drawing, and sketch with rapidity; but we must not suppose that a wild blackfellow, when in humour for drawing, would leave off and rise from his camp-fire to procure more bark or paper merely because he wished to commence a fresh subject. They often record events deemed worthy of note on their throwing-sticks. I feel convinced that the powers of observation and of delineation in the Australian aborigines will compare favourably with those of any other people who had no better opportunities for mental culture, or better materials for practising the art."

Here we get at one and the same time an insight into the thought-world of the Australian artist, and a description of the haphazard conditions under which such drawings are produced.

Had Fig. 53 (Ethnological Museum, Berlin) been exhibited in an



FIG. 52

exhibition of expressionist art as a historical picture, it would perhaps have received a prize, for its subjective disregard of all the traditional canons of clean art. Here the Australian artist has recorded a baptismal feast, i.e. a Christian celebration, in which he may have taken an active part himself as a

newly-baptized person. The hostess and her daughter are prominent in the foreground; behind them comes a young lad, who is probably a brother of the neophyte. The father is bearded, wears a sword, riding boots, and long spurs, and carries a three-cornered hat in his hand, whilst the mother is wearing numerous chains round her neck, and has a purse hanging from a cord round her hips. The young girl, too, has pearls round her neck, and is carrying a hat trimmed with feathers. The background is filled with the heads of numerous participants in the festival. The picture is adorned, especially on the margins, with the artist's special impressions.

I do not know of any Australian plastic work in which Europeans have been modelled, and the whole Australian conception of art makes it improbable that any such exist from earlier times.

In the last chapter we described and illustrated detailed examples of New Caledonian drawings of soldiers. But in addition to soldiers and

THE WHITE MAN IN THE MASS

sailing-ships these bamboo poles are covered with a large number of sorry representations of civilian Europeans. Very seldom, however, do we get plastic models of white men in the art of this island people. Fig. 54 is one such example (Trocadéro Museum, Paris). A European hat surmounts a painted white face, which in length, proportions, and expression is European, whilst the broad clod-nose reminds us more of a native. Arms and pelvis are artistically joined. The carving is finished off in the style of the ancestral figures, which have the lower end pointed to plant in the ground. Here then we find a little spectral white man, the work of the Huailu, typifying Europe: it was to be seen at the entrance to a home to prevent evil spirits from intruding, or in plantations to intimidate thieves.

From the same region comes the figure, Fig. 55, partly painted red (Ethnological Museum, Berlin). All the character is expressed in the head, which, with its képi, its laughing mouth, and large beard, indicates not only the adjuncts of the white race, but also French nationality. The figure itself is unclothed, and formed in sectional rounded slabs. If we hide the face with our hand we should hardly suppose we had a European figure before us, for the whole body has no characteristics of race or colour, but only the international characteristics of the nude.

As ghost-scarers and bogies, to keep the thief or evil spirit from the fields and out of the house, and in case of sickness to drive away the demon of sickness, the natives of the Nicobars have made models and drawings of Europeans. Even before the arrival of the white man, their art served this purpose almost



FIG. 55



FIG. 54

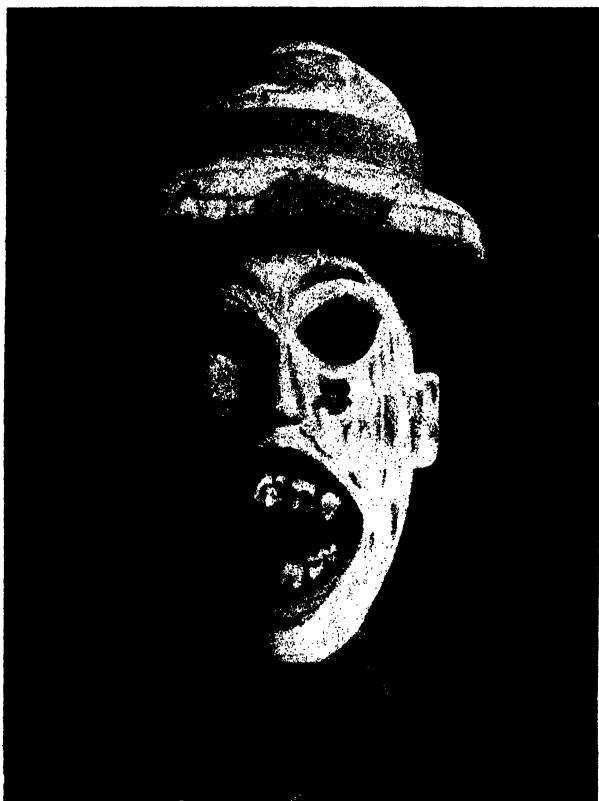
exclusively, only it was not Europeans but natives that were presented, and the natives were equipped with a spear and the attributes of powerful magic. After they became aware of the white man's mysterious belongings, these also, rifle, ship, hat, umbrella, and European clothing, were, as being possessed of special magic powers, added to these bogies or painted boards, even though the figure as such still represented a native

(Man, Boden Kloss). But most potent of all magic was the 'master', the white man himself, and the higher his rank, the more anxious was the purposeful native artist to make a model of him. If that white man was the King of England (*vide* Chapter XI), then a figure carved in his image, and a possession protected by that figure, were bound to be secure against all evil spirits and devils. These models were frequently life-size.

Fig. 56 is one of these bogey masterpieces (Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum, Cologne), and is immediately recognizable as an Englishman. Here unfor-

FIG. 56

tunately only the head appears. The complete figure stands with legs apart, in white trousers and shoes, on a round base. The upper part of the body is clad in a pink coat. The hands are very fine and carefully worked. Above the coat collar, which fastens high up, the head is visible, and its wide-open mouth with tongue and huge teeth seems to be shouting the word "Halt". It is painted white, probably to scare any evil spirit or thief intruding in the twilight. The eyes were made of snail-shells, were wide open, and arched with eyebrows, but one eye is missing. The ears are



placed rather low. The head is crowned with a tropical helmet. What tremendous characterization of racial traits is revealed in this work! The long face, the straight nose, the suggestion of caricature in the distortion of the mouth, the muscular athletic figure, could only be one of England's sons. But his European birth, and his connection with the British Empire, were still insufficient to lend him irresistible power as a spirit-scarer, for in his raised left arm, and his slightly bent right, he certainly once held a lance which completed his power.

In Fig. 57 also (Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum, Cologne) this weapon of defence has been

lost. This figure, like that of the Englishman, shows traces of pink and crimson. He is in complete European dress. The head with its longish eyes and slightly opened mouth is covered with a three-tiered straw hat.

The two hands have obviously held a spear. The long-sleeved coat is smartly cut; from under the high collar in front protrude two equal strips which look like the loose ends of a necktie. Under the coat is visible a portion of the belt holding up the long trousers. Heavy shoes on a round base speak for the robust solidity of our interesting friend. Cologne possesses a further scare-figure, presumably also an English soldier, holding a levelled rifle.

Native imagination, which attributes to the white man a magic power over the evil spirits, conversely attributes to crippled images the power by sympathetic magic to work harm to an individual white man who is the object of its hate, and cause him to take on a similar hideous bodily



FIG. 58



FIG. 57

form. Fig. 58 from the Hermit Islands of the Bismarck Archipelago (Linden Museum, Stuttgart) is a rare work of this type. The feet and arms of this man are horribly distorted, the lower body deformed, whilst the staring gaze of the full-bearded face suggests mental derangement.

There are other similar works from the same region in which individual limbs seem affected with elephantiasis. They are intended to represent European traders who were bewitched by the natives, in order to bring evil upon the hated white slaver, and more especially upon the deceitful dealer; see Chapter VIII.

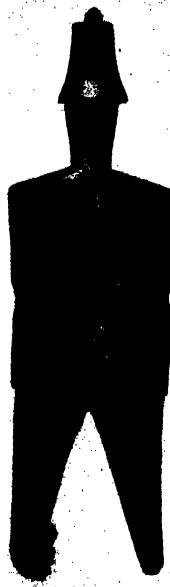


FIG. 59

like those of the coat, are vertical.

The same museum possesses a similar male figure, found in a tomb in the Sukkertoppen district of the west coast of Greenland, a man without arms or feet, wearing a European sports cap. The upper body is rather rounded, and there is a plainly visible cut at the waist. The hips too are rounded, and end in thin parallel legs, with a suggestion of knees.

In Copenhagen again there is a peculiar mask of a European from Angmagsalik fiord (West Greenland), a face of almost tragic expression, furrowed with symmetrical wrinkles.

Fig. 60 (Boas) is a drawing of strong naturalistic conception, altogether

As against these examples from the South Seas, with their wealth of form and inexhaustible variety, the portraits of Europeans made in the far North seem very stiff; this may be due not merely to the different form of art and the different style, but also to the fact that the Arctic-dweller saw the white man muffled up, and, getting only a general impression of a new shape, felt less impulse to draw or model him. Fig. 59 from South Greenland (National Museum, Copenhagen) has a female counterpart (Fig. 193) from the west coast of Greenland. The figure of the man is a brittle model with no arms and no feet, in which the face is indicated by a simple half-ellipse, topped with a bell-shaped hat. The shoulders are cut sloping: the sides, which are almost completely vertical, are slightly indented half-way up. The shoulders, sides, and lower edge of the coat form a longish rectangle. The trousers are simple triangles tapering at the bottom, produced by cutting a V in the original stump, the outer edges of which,

different from the skimped wooden sculptures of Greenland. A native named Aisē'ang from Nuoujen (Central Eskimo) has made here a most excellent portrait of a homely nineteenth-century civilian. He is wearing a bright buttoned waistcoat with dark facings and sleeves, and a pair of dark trousers and shoes. On his head he has a skin cap and he is holding a cloth, or maybe a skin, with the left hand. The limbs are well proportioned; moustache, beard, and hair all belong to a very European face, with a straight nose, and a watchful eye shown in profile.

We come now to a bone carving (Fig. 61) from British Columbia (Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh). This artistic conception of the Stickeen Indians gives us a completely different and almost spectral impression. The figure is wearing a long coat and holding a glass in his left hand, whilst the right is resting on a kind of club. The most peculiar detail is the mask drawn over the head,

with the mouth and nose emerging. Are we looking at a muffler, which is a protection against cold, and is there alcohol in the glass he is putting to his lips? The surface of the mask is flat, but the carving does not tell us the purpose of the mask.

Far less mysterious is Fig. 62 (National Museum, Copenhagen), the statue of Captain Wilkes from Queen Charlotte Island. This is a piece of Haida work, which shows a healthy sense of reality. We are not dealing here with a simple model of a European, but with a portrait of a perfectly definite individual. We have the same fine technique of the slate-carver, which we find in numerous other examples in this book. The face is of ivory, and the whole execution so subtle that a comparison with the Eastern Asiatic netsukés is invited. The military cap with peak, the fur collar turned up against the cold, the details of collar and waistcoat testify to the extreme precision of the rendering. Twelve circular flat buttons are engraved in exact



FIG. 61



FIG. 60

symmetry, even the seams of the arm-holes are engraved in scrupulously exact parallel lines, and the cuffs are clearly shown. The hands are sunk in the trouser pockets, and the small resulting bulge has not been forgotten.



FIG. 62

Fig. 64 also in Edinburgh, is a simpler composition, from the Babeen Indians of the same coast. This, too, is the head of a pipe in black slate, and shows a white man riding on an animal, gripping its horn with his right hand and its tail with his left. The front of the rider's body is

The coat-tails decorated with fine transverse stitching hang down at his sides. The even trouser legs end in solid shoes, standing on a flat rounded base. The face of ivory, with its open eyes, classic nose, and laughing mouth, is so finely formed that neither the creases of the lids, nor the almost invisible line leading from the mouth to the nose have been forgotten.

If in addition we think of the brittle nature of the material, and the inadequacy of the tools, we are bound to ask in astonishment which of our own artists, even with the aid of modern implements, would be able to produce an equivalent result. It is always the Indians of North America who achieve the greatest perfection in works of this type, and we shall make their further acquaintance, especially through their wonderfully carved pipe-heads in Chapter VI.

Fig. 63 is also a piece of Haida work (Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh). On the left is a white man in a top hat, leaning against a house or a cabin, in which a native is visible. In profile on the left, like the outermost figure, another Indian sits on a stool. A group of totem figures of animals which find place in the imaginative world of these tribes forms a frieze, from centre to right, where another Englishman with hat, and a book in his hand, is astride a peculiar steed.

also visible, as he sits sideways on the animal and turns his left profile to the onlooker.

Fig. 65, again from the Haida (State Ethnological Museum, Berlin), shows in the middle of the picture a cabin motif, and on the right and left below objects reminiscent of the paddles of a steamer. The two birds' heads (ravens), one above the other, are familiar

examples from the artistic treasury of these Indians. From the beak of the larger issues a bundle of conventional feathers. On the left of this slate carving we recognize two Europeans, one of whom is bending backwards from the knee, while giving his right hand to the other who is seated. The feet of the upright figure are interesting; as the place where they really belong is filled by the paddle-wheel conception, they are twisted backwards at an angle of 180 degrees.

From Queen Charlotte Island comes another Haida work, Fig. 66 (National Museum of Canada, Ottawa), with a house or cabin ornament in the middle, against which two Europeans are sitting, with their faces, in profile, turned outwards. Their blond heads and other details of the picture are obviously produced with some different material of a bright colour, probably bone. They have low brows, the backs of their heads are flat, the seams in their clothes are quite distinct, and the soles and heels of the shoes are strongly emphasized. Possibly the objects at each end are binnacles and the men are taking a turn at the wheel, which is certainly of a very original order: at least we may suppose this is what they are doing, as their eyes are watching their hands.

At times, however, the North American Indians have not only carved the intruding white man in slate, steatite, or wood, but also embroidered him in special fashion on their clothing, preferring for the purpose the many-coloured glass beads which the Palefaces brought them, and which in time ousted the old many-coloured porcupine bristles from their industrial art. The Umlauff Collection in Hamburg possesses a coat of red material, to be worn on festive occasions, made by the Indians of the Penalekat Sound, North-West America. The style of the embroidery recalls the popular German art of Upper Bavaria, in fact the technique is similar:

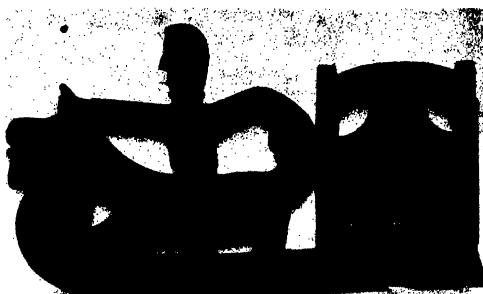


FIG. 64

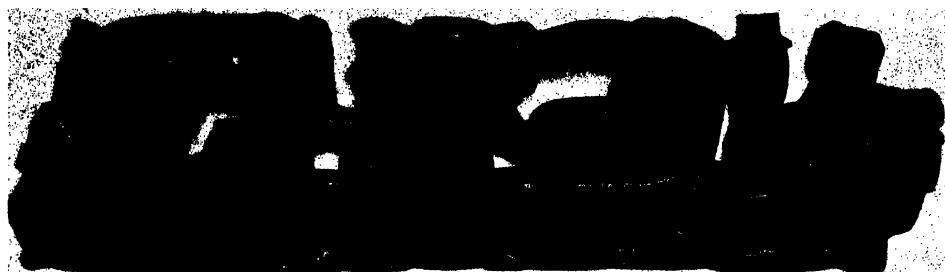


FIG. 63

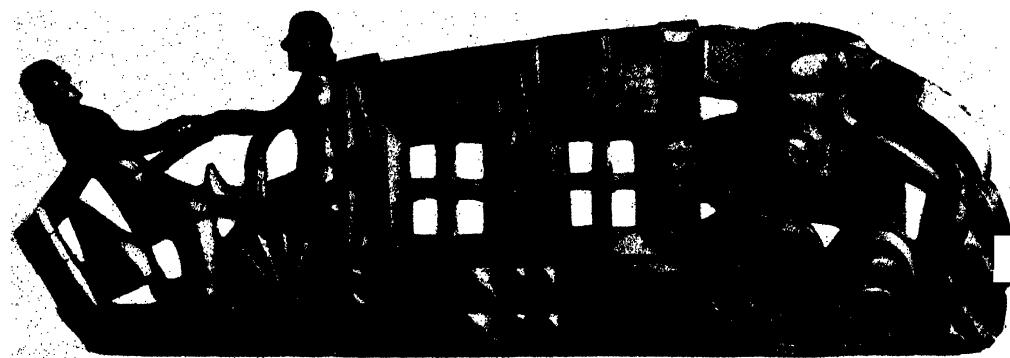


FIG. 65

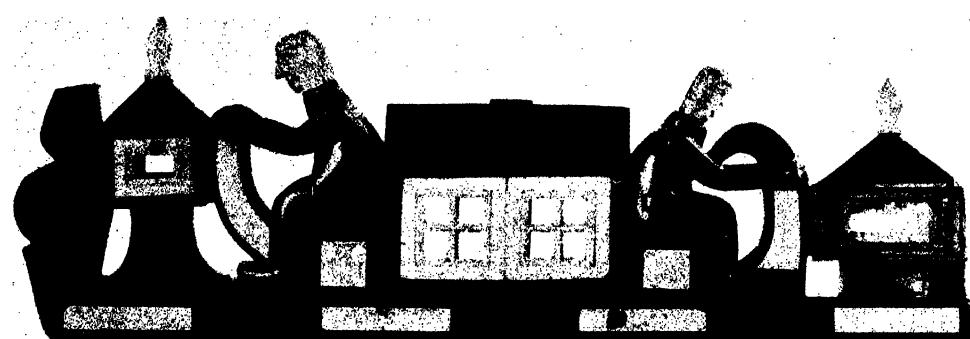


FIG. 66

innumerable parallel lines of stitches, except that here glass beads have been used. The front of the coat is embroidered, and a conventional leaf and flower motif forms a broad margin. The middle is divided by an opening which buttons up, and on the right and left of this opening two symmetrical European figures have been embroidered. They are men with white faces and dark European hats; both have their inner arms, which are turned to each other, in their coat pockets, whilst each of the outer arms is lifting a heavy bright-coloured rifle, distinctly showing barrel, lock, and hammer. Both are wearing slung satchels: the man on the right has hung his over the shoulder by a strap, the one on the left carries it on the arm, but the artist has forgotten to mark the strap that runs over the coat-sleeve. The bright striped trousers end in flat oval shoes.

From the Blackfoot Indians we get a tobacco pouch in beadwork (Carnegie Museum, Pittsburgh) representing a European and a horse on a white ground. The picture is edged top and bottom with three geometrical motifs. The drawing of the horse is remarkably good. The man stands on his left, holding the reins. His costume consists of hat, coat and shoes.

Next we come to a group stylistically unique, the whole of which belongs to the Peabody Museum of Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. It consists of some wooden figures from the Cuna Indians in Tube, one hundred and twenty miles east of San Blas in Panama. Their rough shapes make them essentially different from the slate-carvings of the North-West American Indians, or the diminutive precision work of the Eskimo. They are clod shapes. One of these statues with a tani-o'-shanter, a simple coat and trousers, and hoof-like extremities instead of shoes, has a peculiar profile: eyebrows and eyes are clearly recognizable, but the brow descends in continuous line into a monstrous pointed nose, which ends in a cheek running level with the eye and showing no trace of a mouth. Another piece of this type has an eye in hatchwork, a humped nose, and a laughing mouth above a short chin; a barrel hat and a long cloak form the dress. The roughly carved legs show prominent knee-caps, the feet are short and angular, but have no precise form. The third work of this type, which represents a man with straw-hat and coat, is the best in execution. In contrast to the two other figures with their stunted arms this has well formed arched shoulders beginning at the coat collar, and better proportioned arms and hands. The form of the trousers, too, is markedly better; there is some hint of shoes, and the feet themselves

are denoted by two short clods, perhaps because their portrayal may have been regarded as unessential, or was unsuccessful. The last figure stands on a small round base.

From the so-called 'White Indians' of Brazil, there are glazed earthenware figures (Fig. 67) in the Vienna Ethnological Museum. The horses remind us strongly of the products of modern applied art, but if anything really has been borrowed it has been from Europe. The rider wears a South American cowboy hat, his trousers, too, appear to have the hanging fringe of the gaucho costume. The work is very roughly executed, and the face neglected because of the hideous prominence of the nose. The cabalash engravings of the same Indians show greater adaptability.

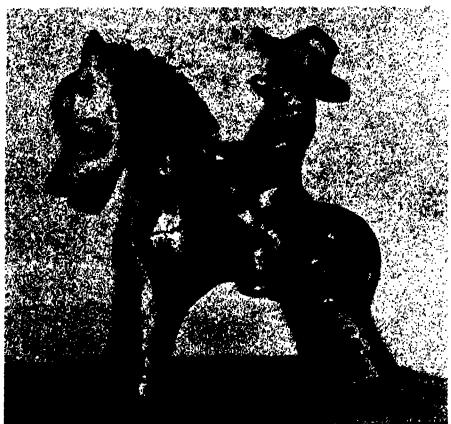


FIG. 67

There is one piece in the Vienna Museum, depicting the European colony out for the evening ride. The foreground is taken up with exquisitely chiselled figures of horses with dainty hoofs, ridden by ladies and gentlemen in European costume. Behind them on a kind of fence are leaning leisurely onlookers with parasols, hats with feathers, and other finery. One of the riders is just raising his hat to greet a lady. Two peculiar round objects on poles seem to be lanterns.

We have chiefly dealt hitherto with purely secular occurrences, momentary impulses, or impressions from another world finally assimilated after long periods of influence; but the white man has also appeared in the peculiar half-religious masks of Central America and Mexico. On feast-days, the date of which is chosen according to the Catholic saints' days, old influences of witchcraft, hailing from days before Columbus, break loose, and in these orgies striking effects are produced by the painful features of the European masks which are carried in between the demons of animals and sickness.

In this connection we must refer to two remarkable works of art coming from a completely different part of the world, New Britain, and New Ireland; that is to say, they belong to the art of the South Seas, but are related to the above trend of thought (Figs. 68 and 69) (Municipal Collection, Freiburg in Breisgau). They are very rare and valuable pieces,

almost without parallel: dance-masks imitating the faces of slain Europeans. The workmanship of the masks, which are of light, spongy, fibrous material, is that of the usual dance-masks, which originally of course are incarnations of the spirits of the dead; but the facial features are grippingly realistic portraits of Europeans. They are relatively old pieces, dating from a time when no European official as yet punished head-hunting and skull-collection. In Fig. 68, the New Britain exhibit, which is in green tones, the brow and cheeks are painted white. From the left section of the forehead to the right eye a slanting red line shows the spot at which the death-blow struck the white intruder. The eyes have a peculiar dimming expression, the mouth is, as in ancient masks, twisted with pain.



FIG. 68

FIG. 69

This mask shows us rather the final numbness of suffering, but the exhibit from North New Ireland seems to represent the last gasp of a dying man. In this case the gash in the forehead goes to the left eye, which is swimming in blood. The right eye is also wounded, and the blood is trickling out of it down the bridge of the nose. There is a spark of life in the expression of the mouth, but it is a spark which is about to be extinguished.

Such masks were worn for display in solemn dances, and the wearer was identified with the spirit of the dead European: power and magic emanate from them. Here we are confronted with the primitive tribal



FIG. 70

world in which art and magic merge in a cult, where the image becomes spirit, and the spirit image.

This applies also, in many cases, in so far as the white man is concerned, to Africa; but we encounter the fact that not a single sculpture of a European is used as a nail-fetish,¹ as a god who has magic medicine and can fulfil wishes. The white man is usually treated as a material phenomenon rather than as a higher being. As the negro began to discover the secret of his mortality and weakness, the more 'earthy' became his delineation of the white man, the keener and the more annihilating was the scrutiny bestowed.

As usual, West Africa is the inexhaustible source of fine pieces of sculpture, and we need only take individual examples from the numerous Europeans we find depicted. All the examples are interesting, and each is beautiful in its own way.

Fig. 70, a work from the Bissagos Islands (Lisbon Geographical Society), shows two Europeans in conversation. They are standing together on a four-legged platform. The two round hats are so close to each other that they become one in the middle, but the thoughts of the two heads lowered in conversation are very far apart. The expression of the mouths is almost surly, the eyes are looking in different directions. The clothing of each consists of a coat fastened high up, and trousers. Whether shoes are being worn is not clearly discernible. The outer arm of the left figure hangs limply down, whilst his partner's is raised, as in a lecture. This second man seems to be altogether the more active of the two ; he is stepping briskly forward, whilst his companion, who is only half-convinced, is following him. The division between the figures is again portrayed by a single unelaborated line, showing neither inner arm, and yet the pair produce a most genuine and convincing effect. Fig. 71



FIG. 71

¹ An African fetish made of wood. When a man wants the fetish to grant his prayer, he drives a nail into the body of the figure to hurt it and draw its attention to his petition.

again shows two Europeans, but separate figures, from Portuguese Guinea (Portuguese Ethnological Museum, Belem, Lisbon). The faces, which seem rouged, may appear very similar, but are actually as different as their clothes and their height. The bare-footed figure on the left, with long cloak and basin hat, is holding a bottle, an object often used to label a European, in his raised right hand, whilst his left hand is concealed in the pocket of the cloak, leaving part of the wrist visible. The taller man in the sports cap, who is provided with laced boots, coat, and trousers, is holding a small harmonica firmly in both hands. The blank surfaces where the buttons and pockets on his coat should appear have a very comic effect.

We have seen here two average types of civilian European, optional representatives of the European in the mass, both in their dress and occupation. Figs. 72 and 73, on the other hand, show a striking visionary reserve (Atakpame, Togoland); (Linden Museum, Stuttgart). Fig. 72, a naked man, with a tropical helmet, sitting on a chair, wears a rapt expression. The closed eyes of a somnambulist, the sharp chin, and the narrow, remarkable mouth endow the face, which is turned upwards or else completely inwards upon itself, with some mystic power. Is he surrendered to his own deeply religious thoughts? Or does he by his estrangement from the world, and his slightly arrogant self-sufficiency, incarnate a principle or idea? For although the object in his right hand may be explained as a sword, are we not tempted, when we look at the round object in the other hand, to interpret it rather as a sceptre, with which the imperial globe is associated?

Have we here the idea of a ruler, a potentate, of whom men had heard, and learnt that he sat on a throne and held mysterious insignia in his hand? They had never seen this monarch, and therefore gave him as attributes, by way of suggestion, the hat and chair of well-known Europeans of the neighbourhood, putting all the emphasis of the portrait on the face, which is as sensitive as it is magnetic.

In Fig. 73, a figure of equally majestic pose, the rhythm of the



FIG. 72

composition is slightly damaged, to a European eye, by the fact that from the hips down the grotesque imagination of the West African sculptor finds full vent, whilst the upper portion of the rider is certainly inspired with an idea similar to that of Fig. 72. Here also we have the insignia of the sceptre and the imperial globe (in pre-War German Togoland a

European monarch could only mean the German Emperor); here again we have the head raised high, the chest flung out, and the general attitude of a commander. Lower down, however, appears the strange horse with its four legs set close together, like pillars, in the middle, its bird's body, stumpy tail, and dog's head, with lopped ears. On its back are fixed the European's two short legs, hung the wrong way round. The upper portion seems to express power and glory, whilst the lower portion of the figure and the steed merely appear farcical to a European.

The 'Gentleman' in Fig. 74 (Linden Museum, Stuttgart) is a type which we have met all the world over: the tourist. In his large soft sports cap, correct travelling-costume, and solid shoes, he stands in wonderment before the Pyramids of Gizeh, the palms of the Riviera, or the Tower of London, and that is how he stood in Dahomey in front of Africa's dark sons; and for that



FIG. 73

reason he has come into their art. His critical gaze, the correct fit of his clothes, the short arms, are all deliciously true to life. He has a simpler brother, a naïve variant, also from Dahomey (Linden Museum, Stuttgart), the staring provincial with great round eyes, a plain cap, Wellingtons, long coat, and longer arms, but no hands. We get the impression that 'Mr. Fig. 74' travels first-class, whilst his counterpart from

the third-class is gazing with joyous astonishment on the dark continent, to which our richer globe-trotter pays but indifferent attention.

If Fig. 74 is the hackneyed figure universally associated with travel, Fig. 75 shows us quite a different picture of the European (Town Museum, Essen). The West African artist has posed his model on a chair, and allowed him a tropical helmet. But the external proportions were not the question here. For the white man, enthroned in naked ease, imagines himself alone. In his right hand he is holding a mirror to his face, to examine in detail the contracted wrinkles at the root of his nose. Perhaps his own servant was the artist, and sneaked his inspiration for this work through the

keyhole. Those of us who study these models very exactly will possibly be more prudent on our own next visit to Africa than were these Europeans who prompted the black man to his graceless portraits.

Passing mention may here be given to a very peculiar carved and painted figure from Southern Nigeria (Trocadéro Museum, Paris), which represents a kind of richly-peopled fetish built up in tiers, and which has as the largest figure of all a man in a top-hat in the centre, who despite the scarred tattooing of his nose is European in appearance, while from his back at right-angles protrudes another man with a European hat; all the other figures are natives with typically African attributes.

We said at the beginning that Europeans were not represented in nail-fetishes; in Fig. 76,



FIG. 75



FIG. 74

the unique example in our collection, an African sculptor has provided the statue of a white man with the holy witchcraft-medicine container.

This figure could of course not fulfil any wishes as a nail-fetish, but does carry some kind of magic medicine in the usual round container in its stomach. In profile this tin enclosing the magic is quite prominent. The man keeps his arms cramped behind his back, wears a dark European jacket and bright trousers, and on his head has an uncommon three-cornered hat. Though his mouth has traces of negroid lines, he is none the less certainly a white man, only the artist was not quite so skilful as some of his colleagues.

Figs. 77 and 78 again (Basle Mission Museum ; Linden Museum, Stuttgart) come from the Cameroons.

Compared with the other very elegant West African models (Figs. 70, 73, 74, 75) these are ponderous artistic

FIG. 76

conceptions, suitably expressed in the material used — black clay. Fig. 77 is a Bamum piece, a man wearing the costume of past centuries, and riding a fantastic animal, half-amphibian, half-horse. Fig. 78 from the same region, a bearded man, sitting on a chair, seems to be holding a jug in his right hand. Both models have a heavy effect, and despite their improbable proportions they are devoid of any comic element, in fact they almost give one the creeps. The technique and general conception are similar to those of the monstrous pipes from

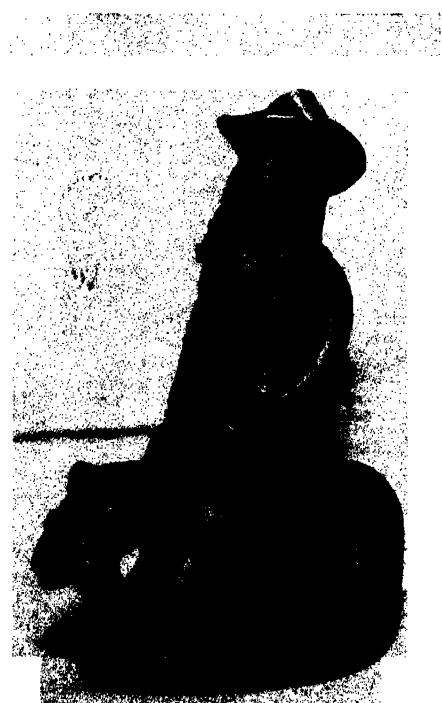


FIG. 77

the grass-land Cameroons, whilst the solemn ponderous expression recalls the gloomy masks of that territory.

In contrast with this naturalistic atavism characterizing the European figures from Bamum, we get the freer and airier models of the coast negroes as evidenced in the figure-heads of boats from the Cameroons (Frobenius). In these carvings we find the liveliest scenes of natives, animals,



FIG. 78

and white men blended in active natural positions (Munich and Berlin Museums), the supple figure of a European firing a rifle from a sitting position, or standing upright, catching snakes and swans by the neck, or spearing an elephant half as tall as himself. Similar depth and intensity of representation, though less conventional than is the case with the clay models of the Cameroons, are

to be found in many masterpieces of the older and best period of Benin civilization. These exhibits have a touch of genius, and their quality is enhanced by their anatomical correctness and rhythm of movement. Their subject, the European—as a rule the conquering Portuguese—we find figured with masterly skill on the bronze reliefs of the royal palaces.

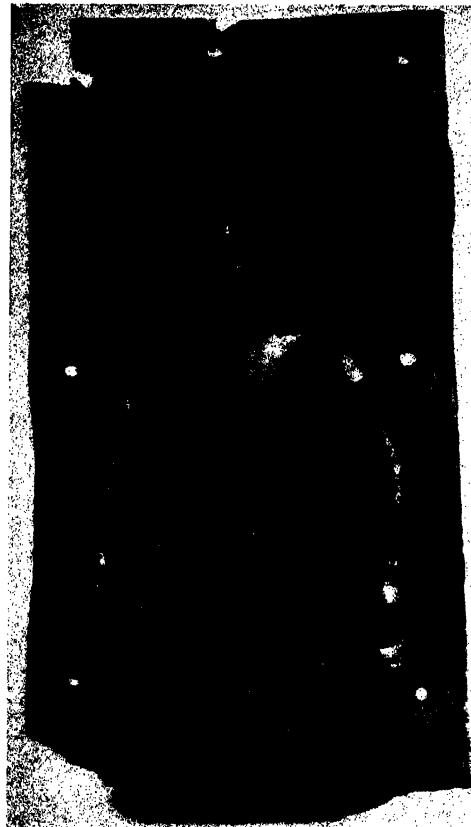


FIG. 79

In Luschan's time ethnological science knew of fifty-six such bronze plaques representing Europeans, in which warriors, traders, Portuguese, and Dutchmen can be quite accurately distinguished. Fig. 79 (Municipal Museum, Brunswick) closely resembles the plaque published by Luschan, for the man with the pleated coat and narrow jacket, under whose sleeves a second pair of sleeves is visible, is entirely peaceful, and not, as in our Figs. 46 and 47 illustrations, labelled as a soldier. In his right hand he is holding

a walking-stick, on which he is leaning, whilst the left hand grips the handle of a leather bag, a kind of hand or travelling bag. Instead of a heavy helmet, he wears a light cap, with a decorative button and padded rim, under which protrudes the smooth hair denoting the European. The smoothness of the face is also completely European ; here it indicates shaving, but in figures which have beards or moustaches it is also a mark



FIG. 80

of the white man. The jacket is fastened in a peculiar way, perhaps with leather thongs, and the coat, long sleeves, and background of the plaque are filled in with line and stipple ornamentation.

Fig. 80 is a picture of a Portuguese Jew, cast in bronze. His racial characteristics have been emphasized with anthropological precision (Ethnological Museum, Vienna). He is wearing a hat, and a pleated coat. The fancy-figured sleeves are visible as high as the shoulders, so that

the undecorated garment on the upper part of the body is something of a waistcoat. His full beard is curled, his hair smooth, his attitude full of gesture; his right hand is clutching his breast as though he wished to lend additional conviction to words he has just spoken. The background decoration of the plaque is as in Fig. 79.

Not only individual persons or heads have been thus represented, but whole groups of Europeans, such as a father with his two sons (Luschan), a master with his dog, etc. Bronze plaques are frequently found in which natives are the central figures, while in the corners are busts of Europeans, like re-marks, executed on a somewhat smaller scale, and with the same, but usually hastier, technique, giving an extremely peculiar effect.

As stated already, whole volumes have been filled with reproductions and explanations of Benin art, and we shall here limit ourselves to some further references. The seated European with a tall hat (Pitt Rivers) and strongly exaggerated nose is not a relief but a model figure: the straight line of the nose is meant to emphasize the European and in many pieces has a rather Semitic effect. Another figure (Luschan) is wearing the Portuguese Order of Christ round the neck, and has a European lace stomacher, though the facial features make it doubtful whether we really have a European here. A bronze cuff (Cologne Museum) is also worth noting, which has between its richly ornamented fields a portrait of a European with hat and rather straddled legs. A chieftain's chair in brown wood (British Museum) shows on its large and exceptionally well engraved seat, alongside the figures of native worthies and animals, the figure of a European in hat and costume, holding up a chain and a cutlass. Another really excellent piece is to be found in the British Museum. It is an ivory goblet with lid, showing crocodiles attacking black women. The base shows scenery of historical interest in civilization: for here we have, seated in a circle, pairs of black women between pairs of white men. The men are folding their hands as if in prayer, whilst their lady neighbours are touching them on the forearm. Another European is shown as the handle of an ivory spoon; he wears knee breeches and short doublet (British Museum), and grips the pommeil of his partly broken sword with both hands, supporting himself with it on the base of the spoon handle.

The European is a familiar sight on the carved elephant tusks of West Africa. He may wear a straw hat and summer sports suit; he may be sitting at his meal (Ethnological Museum, Munich), or walking along in similar costume with lifted stick (Prehistorical Museum, Weimar).

Of far more ancient origin are some valuable tusks with lovely carvings in the style of the Benin bronzes (Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum, Cologne; Ethnological Museum, Munich; Prehistorical Museum, Weimar). On these elephant tusks the European appears with that brilliant pathos which distinguished the art of the conquest-days, and finds expression also in a very old ivory bracelet (Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh), with Europeans as motifs, shown alternatively from the front and in profile, and surrounded with swords, cigars, and birds. A kindred exhibit (University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia) is adorned with several European figures surrounded by numerous instruments and implements. More recent West African works have, as we know, held fast to the tradition of the elephant tusk with relief carvings, in which the figures at times stand upon a spiral strip which unrolls upwards from the bottom. One of these pieces (Ethnographical Museum of Sweden)

is crowned with a European civilian with round hat, coat, and pipe, whilst all the stages below him are filled with white men carrying sticks, troughs, pots, and swords.

But for all that the West African's preference, when he portrays the white man, is for the plastic figure. We find, for example, very characteristic features in Fig. 81, which comes from the Bakongo (Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum, Cologne). It is painted black and white, leaving the face the colour of the natural wood, whilst hair, eyebrows, eyelashes, jacket, shoes, and stockings are toned dark, and waistcoat and trousers light. The symmetrical face, with the clod-ears standing out, has an intelligent appearance, and has been executed, round the eyes, nose, and mouth, with great care. The central upper part of the head is slightly pointed. The arms are not so pleasantly treated; they are very short, and end in hastily indicated fingers.



FIG. 82

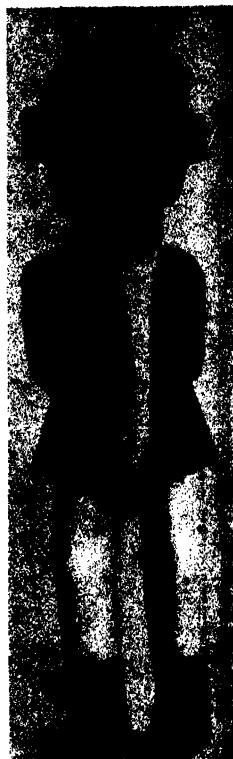


FIG. 81

From the Congo again comes the highly original earthenware vessel, Fig. 82 (Belgian Congo Museum, Tervueren), a product of the Muserongo. This figure, which is crowned with a cross, has a peculiarly swollen face, ending without any indication of a chin line in a thick neck. The clothing consists of a dark jacket with low neck, under which apparently no shirt is being worn. The short thick lower body, with feet that are barely expressed, is dressed in somewhat brighter trousers, and is fastened upon a small oval stand. The hands are holding, at waist level, a flat object, maybe a book (*hymn-book?*), the small almond-shaped eyes seem to be gazing upwards, and the mouth is open and wears a tearful expression.

A piece from the same region (Belgian Congo Museum, Tervueren) shows a European of similar shape. The face is better finished, showing brows and a small moustache, the hands, again at waist level, are holding an object rather like a banana, and the feet fade into the roof of the arch which forms the base.

Fig. 83 is another West African plastic document of old and excellent comedy, a work of the Bakongo (Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum, Cologne). As far as the shoulder we see a portrait of a clodhopper in a straw hat; his eyes are wide open, his foolish affable mouth wide open too, his ears well proportioned. But from the sloping shoulder downwards we have grotesque imagination run amok. The short arms and small hands end in a thick rope, which is laid like a rein round the neck of a steed. This animal, which is not half as big as its rider, has a face like a circus bear with a muzzle, and would actually have to collapse beneath the man in the straw hat. However, it keeps on propelling its X-shaped fore-legs patiently forwards, whilst the hind-legs seem to take no part in the proceedings. The thighs and legs of the rider, both extraordinarily short, are seated on the back of this quixotic animal, whose hind quarters begin immediately under the white man's own. A rectangular base supports this amusing couple.

The European, Fig. 84, from the Congo (Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum, Cologne), shows exceptionally well the triple conception preferred; very short legs, large upper body, enormous head. The man is placed in a sitting posture on a base which is formed like a barrel-bung, and bigger than the man himself. The round hat and the jacket clearly denote the European, whilst the broad nose and the puffed lips produce a completely negroid result. In such cases the habit of the negro artist has probably carried him away, and we have the rare and reversed case before us that

we found in Cook's 'London' dancing-women of Tahiti. An artist must be in control of the whole gamut of his subject, and it is not sufficient to imitate the form of a European, while possessing only a hazy notion of the criteria of the European face. The supposition that we may have a negro in European costume cannot be confirmed owing to the present rarity of such figures.



FIG. 83



FIG. 84

Fig. 85 from the Lower Congo (Ethnographical Museum of Sweden, Stockholm) also shows some want of anthropological awareness, but this is compensated by a conception of movement quite out of the common, reminding us of the energy of certain expressionist models. The head and hat are shown in right profile, placed on a neck which is higher on the left, below which the body, front view, is to be seen in European jacket. The right arm with clenched fist shows a fairly correct bend at the waist level,

but the left, which is out of all proportion, presents a phenomenon. As far as the elbow it balances the right arm, then suddenly ends in a monstrous forearm, which enables its owner, without bending his body, to grip a diminutive leg, bent to the left at an acute angle, above the foot, whilst the



FIG. 85



FIG. 86

weight of the body rests in an impossible way on the right foot. This highly unusual composition, with its strong rhythmic feeling, despite the improbability of the European's body-proportions, possesses extraordinary charm, and shows an artistic personality which is ready to sacrifice every detail and all truth to nature to the idea of movement.

All these works are testimony to inexhaustible imagination, and display the theme of the white man in his European costume, which is after all not so uncommon, in as many variations as there were eyes to observe.

Fig. 86 is a terra-cotta figure (Belgian Congo Museum, Tervueren) from the lower Congo. It resembles a female figure of similar origin, Fig. 202. But whereas in Fig. 202 the whole conception of the clothing and face is almost antique, its counterpart is a typical product of the nineteenth century. The face with tiny eyes, brows, and mouth of almost equal size, is sunk in thought, and shows the symmetrical arrangement of the hair. The lifted shoulders and the hands buried in the coat pockets make one think of an anxious paterfamilias doing accounts. His coat has facings, the lines of which are repeated in other lines engraved parallel. Both sides of the inner edge of the coat have numerous buttons and buttonholes, but we cannot tell buttons from holes; they are produced by small indentations. Under the coat we see a waistcoat, and under that the trousers with rather clumsily worked laced boots. The figure stands on a flat base with a high curved back, against which he seems to be leaning.

A brown wood carved stick from the Congo (Fig. 87) (Imperial Ethnographical Museum, Leiden) is covered with pictures of Europeans, and curious individual motifs, among which we have a mother with her child, men with hats, a married couple, a man with a hard hat sitting on a campstool, two sailors or huntsmen with guns, and a collection of cups, plates, and knick-knacks.

There is one scene here which usually receives little attention from primitive tribes: a European bending down to stroke his dog, who is jumping up to him. The man has a pointed beard and tropical helmet; in his right hand he holds an open European umbrella, in his left hand the dog's forepaw, and his face is bending down to the animal in a friendly way. He is dressed in jacket, trousers, and shoes.

As a last example from the Belgian Congo there is an interesting figure (Fig. 88) (Belgian Congo Museum, Tervueren) belonging to that group of



FIG. 87

numerous wooden figures which are placed on graves in remembrance of the dead. It is indeed a kind of primitive tribal gravestone, maybe a portrait intended to prove to the spirit of the departed that he is not forgotton, thereby robbing him of any motive for revenge and warding off the dangers

accompanying a return. Most of the native figures of ancestors portray a plaintive sorrowful expression, and for that reason we are doubly struck with the almost jovial calm of this European. Whether the figure was found on the grave of a negro or a white man we can no longer say, though we might assume the latter. It is an exceedingly good and careful work with typically European features. The eyes, which have black circles round them, and tiny points for pupils, show prominently moulded lids, and short strong eyebrows. The felt hat, which is decorated with a ribbon, is placed rather high on the black hair, and the position of the ears is anatomically correct. The nose is straight, and the upper lip adorned with a small but elegant moustache. The left hand is holding the head of a European tobacco pipe with a dark mouthpiece, whilst the right grasps a large stick resembling a gun. Whether the chest is naked and decorated with ornamental scars or whether we have here some fancy work on a piece of linen, it is impossible to say. A dark belt separates the upper body, dressed in a dark coat, from the white trousers, which tail off in dark shoes that are fastened on a base.

Our examples have, I hope, sufficiently demonstrated how manifold the art of the Congo is in the representation of Europeans,

and all that is now needed is a few references to the most interesting pieces not shown in our account. Our attention is due, first of all, to a fetish which represents a beautiful white face with cap, fastened at the entrance to a village in the Zombo Plateau, to scare away evil spirits (Johnston), a device which reminds us of the spirit scarers of the Nicobars. From the



FIG. 88

lower Congo we are familiar with a wooden statuette painted black (Ethnographical Museum of Sweden), whilst a whole series of white men on chairs or horses, with straw and top hats in the style of Figs. 88 and 91, are to be found in the Belgian Congo Museum. A water-jar, very like Fig. 82 in expression and workmanship, comes from the Banana (Imperial Museum, Leiden). Finally let us mention some calabash-engravings (Manke) representing Babwende work. They show us, in the technique of the pictures of soldiers known to us from engravings on bamboo, various Europeans in sportscap and with tobacco pipe, together with numerous European emblems (letters, rifles). Another piece depicts a missionary and his wife sitting in a happy natural manner at coffee. In the region of the Congo Falls, in the village of Vuila, is to be found a peculiar porch, which E. von Sydow traces back to European influence. It is a white wall of boards, with six doors, each of which has a door-jamb showing the wooden figure of a European, half life-size, with hat, jacket, and stick, under a straw roof.

Fig. 89 shows how the Loango artist, in the first half of the nineteenth century, shaped the white man. This plastic is a drum (Peabody Museum, Salem, Mass.), the whole of the under portion of which is three times as high as the drum itself, and is formed by the figure of a seated European with astonishingly correct body-proportions. The turned-up hat, with a



FIG. 89

snake decoration on the side instead of a ribbon, is fixed on a well-formed head of distinctly European Spanish-Portuguese type. The nose is straight, the eyes light-coloured, and the mouth slightly open. The cut of the jacket and the side whiskers, which come down to the mouth, point to the fashion of the first half of the nineteenth century. The jacket has buttons on both sides, but no button holes, and cannot therefore be fastened, though this is hardly necessary, as various layers of clothing may be observed underneath. The sleeves, from the shoulder to half-way down the upper arm, are slightly puffed, the trousers are painted a light colour, and show a portion of the leg above the tops of the dark shoes. But the most essential object is what the figure holds in his left hand, the whisky flask, the contents of which have no relation at all to the giant goblet in the right hand. The chair consists of one board with two legs, fastened on a base. A neat and lovely piece of work which, owing to its individual design, did not require the flask to designate the European; it reminds us of the figure of a white man in a pearl fishing boat in Ceylon (Linden Museum, Stuttgart), who also has white trousers, a hat, a dark coat, and glass and flask, as he sits watching the native divers. Loango art has produced other similar compositions, partly in an essentially different form; for example, we have (Berlin Museum) a fetish built in tiers, carried by an elephant and crowned with a drum with three European figures in round hats between the primitive emblems. Loango has also selected, in particular, hippopotamus (Pechuel-Loesche) and elephant tusks (Trocadéro) as material for depicting Europeans in the usual carvings, and we find men with cigars, dogs, and hats, with natives, monkeys, and tortoises added. A white man in a hammock, holding a parasol over himself, and other Europeans with guns, are to be found on a Loango tusk in the Imperial Ethnographical Museum, Leiden, whilst another tusk from the same region shows us completely conventional earnest figures with genuine strength of line, differing widely from the vivacious scenes of the other pieces.

The plastic representations of Europeans in Angola show some marked divergences: we find wooden statues with remarkably high-combed head-dress (Frankfurt Museum), or pillars, built up of European figures (Trocadéro, Paris), or the lovely decorated clubs (Prehistorical Museum, Weimar), with individual figures and complete groups of riders on chased plinths.

One of the most interesting examples, historically, is provided by Fig. 90 (Geographical Society, Lisbon); here a white man is portrayed with his black woman, and we note that she has already learnt to pass her arm in

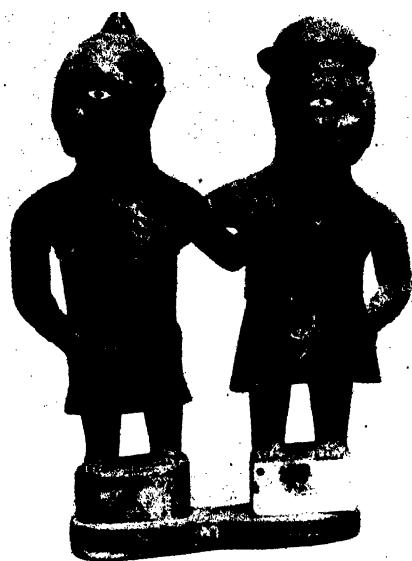


FIG. 90



FIG. 91

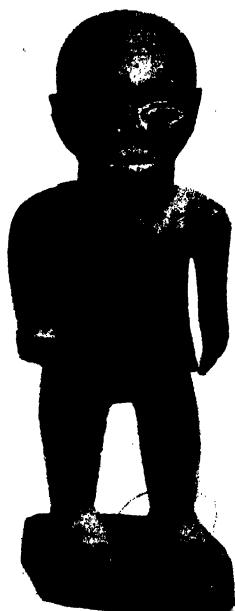


FIG. 92



FIG. 93



FIG. 94

European fashion under his. Except for a small skirt, a strap passing round the neck and breast, and an armlet, she is clad in nothing but a native tattoo-pattern, whilst the white man is wearing a wing-shaped elongated jacket, in one pocket of which he is burying his hand. His free arm is laid round the negress, who has her outer arm in the same position as his, to lend the pair a certain symmetry. The European is wearing a round hat, has bare feet like his companion, and is fixed on a white, while she is on a black, socle, the two supports themselves resting on a common base.

From Angola comes also Fig. 91 (Ethnological Museum, Frankfurt), produced between 1892 and 1896. It shows a humdrum citizen type of the end of the century, with straw hat, walking-stick, and a costume decorated with a pocket. The man has a moustache and tiny beard: his eyes and mouth may show some traces of negro convention, but he is undoubtedly a European.

Fig. 92 (Lisbon Geographical Society) is the portrait of a determined white man, with over-short arms, jacket, and undefined trousers; his features and the cut of his hair are elegantly finished. On the left side of his head the Angola artist has shown by some incised parallel lines how the hair is combed back.

The Bechuanaland modeller (Fig. 93) puts his European model in a seat which is in style European, in fact reminds us of the Dutch peasant chairs,

with a half-moon cut in the back as ornament (Peabody Museum, Salem, Mass.). This chair is so tall the well-modelled legs hang like a child's in the air. Two stunted arms without recognizable hands have been worked on to the short upper body. Upon the rather unintelligent face with the small pig's eyes, and the impertinently closed mouth, is placed a top hat of curved shape. We almost feel that the artist derived so much pleasure from his work on the chair, which he finished first, that the upper part of the body literally 'went short'. The model perhaps represents a Boer farmer.

In Fig. 94 (Trocadéro Museum, Paris) we become acquainted with a very beautiful pair of figures. The object is a wooden spoon from the upper Zambesi, with the handle split into two parts, finishing in two



FIG. 96

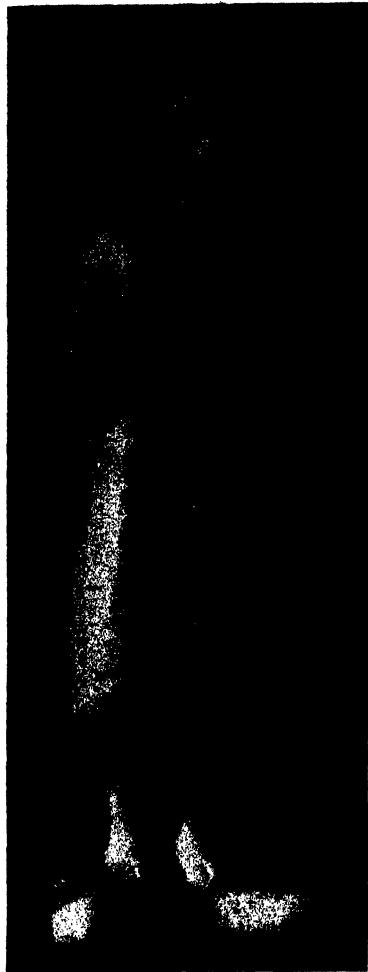


FIG. 95

grotesquely symmetrical European personalities. The two youths, dressed exactly alike, are as good as a pair of comedians, with their small round hats, their jovial arrogant faces, their long collarless necks, and hands posed exactly alike. The right-hand figure, it is true, has only a suggestion of shoes, the



FIG. 97

and horses; in the middle is a European on a pole (meant to indicate a litter or hammock, carried by four servants).

Remarkable perfection, both in style and execution, is shown by the two Hova bone models, Figs. 95 and 96, from Madagascar. We are strongly reminded of European figures on the Indian temple friezes; we forget altogether that we have before us the artistic work of a primitive people.

Fig. 95 is remarkable for the profound intensity of the face, reminding us of the philosophic purity of Asiatic

left figure a mere suspicion, but taking them all round, they are a perfect pair, and an excellent example of African applied plastic art.

To this group belongs also a carved wooden comb from the Zambesi (Christol), the handle of which is formed of a naked European rider in a top hat. His horse has an absurdly long neck, and the profile of a Scotch terrier.

Mounted figures in earthenware, representing Europeans in overcoat and large hat (Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum, Cologne), only faintly suggest the white man, and are Kaffir work. A rice-measure in bamboo (Trocadéro Museum, Paris) is known to us from Madagascar, and represents European ladies and gentlemen with parasols, alongside hens, houses,



FIG. 98

models. Obviously it is the presentation of a one-armed man, whose left coat-sleeve is inserted in his pocket. It may be the portrait of a blind man, whose right hand, now broken off, held a staff. The coat is irregular in front and too short, leaving visible two bare legs, with well-formed feet.

Quite different, though of similar technique, is the effect of the equestrian statue, Fig. 96 (like Fig. 95, in the Ethnological Museum, Lübeck), in which the principal value lies not in the figure of the rider, but in the horse. There is, however, no technical knowledge of horsemanship to be attributed to this model, for the rider has neither spurs nor stirrups, and the extremely thick reins, which have no snaffle, make it impossible to direct the horse.

East Africa is mainly the region of artistic line-drawing, as we notice in numerous examples; two good instances are the gourd-flask of the Kenya Colony (Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh) with its engraved illustrations of Europeans, or the engraving of two Europeans at a meal (Weuel). But a few models of the white man have been completed there, and they show an obvious European influence.

Fig. 97 is an astonishingly lovely example of this plastic art (Ethnographical Museum of Sweden). In its bold rhythm it does full justice to the taste of the modern European, but perhaps for that very reason should not be put down as a first-hand product of East Africa. And the original details justify this opinion, for the collector admits "that he has noticed nothing of this kind in any other part of East Africa". It comes from Ikatka, and the artist, an Akamba, carved this remarkable model when a pupil in a mission school. He used a light-coloured wood for his work, which, with its conventional base and the energetic head covered with a tropical helmet, might well adorn any memorial to a modern pioneer in the dark continent.



FIG. 99

Alongside all these simple, clever, or buffoonish representations of the white man in the art of primitive tribes, the phenomenon of the European, as we know of course from the reliefs and models of Benin, has made its entry into the art of non-European high cultures, and has been treated especially in the works of Eastern Asiatic masters, frequently as a serious model, more frequently still as caricature. Hundreds of such works of art have been produced, but it cannot of course be the task of the ethnologist



FIG. 100

to treat these products of high culture in any but a subordinate way. We have introduced a few here to recall, even though faintly, the echo produced by the appearance of the European man, and above all to demonstrate that the primitive art admits of a complete comparison with the works of highly civilized ancient peoples from kingdoms where the plough and the written records were paramount factors in life.

If, for example, we look at Fig. 98, a small ink-stand in Kanghi-porcelain,

Chinese work from the end of the seventeenth century, representing a European drinking, surrounded by emblems, and seated on a plinth, we find considerable comparison possible with the Malagash works, Figs. 95 and 96, of native tribes.

Quite different is the case with Fig. 99, which is a decided portrait (Peabody Museum, Salem, Mass.). This is a Chinese statue of Daniel Sage, produced in the nineteenth century. Here we have in completion all that the primitive peoples, in many of their most successful pieces, strove to attain; the perfect rounding of the lines (the figure is a carving), the anatomical balance of the body, and above all the resemblance to a definite individual. This last quality, the intentional portrait, not imitations of some chance comer as a typical representation, is one of the criteria of advanced art. Any fuller description of this perfect figure is unnecessary.

The same is true of the bust of Captain Aldewelt (National Museum, Copenhagen) which was produced in China about 1730 (Fig. 100). This delightful old tar, with his tassel cap, his pleated shirt, his coat, his waist-coat, and his supply of buttons, requires no interpretation. Anyone who has seen the model of him knows him personally, however long he has been dead: the solidity of his whole appearance, the reliable eyes, gazing over the sea, with a sense of humour in their puckered corners, and the mouth which is not averse to the pleasures of this world, delighted to eat a good meal as well as spin an excellent yarn, make a perfect picture, which art cannot improve nor words exhaustively describe.

The Japanese netsukés, from the time of the Dutch Trading Company, that is about 1602, show more distinct reminiscences of the miniature model of the primitive tribes. For it is remarkable that as soon as Eastern .



FIG. 101

works of art, and above all the Japanese, diverge into conscious caricature, they approximate, in striking fashion, the serious intentions and conceptions of many primitive tribes. Of course all the most delicate and subtle features betray the age-old routine of conscious artistic schooling, as in Fig. 101 (Imperial Ethnographical Museum, Leiden), the Dutchman, carrying on his arm a dog whose fine coat rivals Dürer's portrait of a hare.

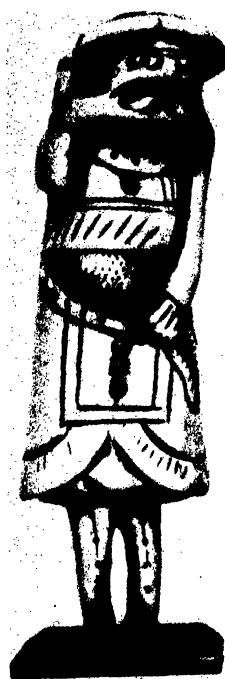


FIG. 102



FIG. 103

Fig. 102 is a grotesque creation in caricature, whilst Fig. 103 (as also Fig. 102, in the same museum at Leiden) is a realistic portrait of a good-natured Mynheer with his tobacco pouch.

The white man, in general, is only a pattern. However strange it may sound, it was primitive man's anonymous and impersonal power of imagery that restored to the foreign intruder the qualities which the white man in the mass had lost centuries before: a peculiar mint-mark and individual personality.

Chapter VI

STRANGE THINGS AROUND THE WHITE MAN

THE invasion of the white man implied not only the appearance of white sails on the horizon, not only the sight of a human being with a different coloured skin and different powers of magic—it meant, at the same time, the invasion of a completely new world of modern material possessions, which constituted a large part of the white man's power. He brought with him things which, by the mere fact of their existence, were able to subdue the world around him, like the magic-ring in the fairy-tale, the possessor of which had the key to might and riches.

But all these peculiar belongings were so intimately associated with the white man, that in representing him the savage always connected them with him in some way or other, for they were a part of him. The power and the wizardry of the Europeans were transmitted to their belongings. Therefore it was sometimes good to adorn the pictures of old ancestors and fetishes, and the figures of famous chieftains, with the magically powerful emblems of European objects, with guns, bottles, letters, keys, and every manner of thing which the coloured man saw the white man using. Consequently, even in his absence, a part of the magic existing in his belongings was employed and turned to service. It seems, in fact, very probable that in the beginning these "things of the white man" had served only purposes of a magic nature, till the natives learnt to employ them in their daily tasks, and realized their usefulness. Even then ideas of magic and sorcery played a part. Thus an old Cameroon slave begged a missionary to give him his hat, saying: "When I am dead, put your hat on me; then they in the world of the dead will think a European is coming" (Rein-Wuhrmann). Or the bogey-figures of the Nicobars were equipped not as before, with a lance, but with a hat and gun. Individual possessions of the white man are, in many tribes, claimed, as a matter of course, by the nobles and peoples of position, as destined for them, and withdrawn from the use of the common people, even forbidden them. Thus among the Bushongo the umbrella was the distinguishing mark of the nobility. In the models of the Bushongo kings (Museums of Leiden and Tervueren) these are represented with this European accessory. The weapons of the Europeans again were not

intended for the common people; only kings and nobles might receive from the white man this arch-magic; and therefore the old representations of natives with guns are either gods (Frobenius) or kings and noblemen (Yoruba carving, Berlin). It was not till later that the bodyguard of a prince was armed with European blunderbusses, and the illustration of the gun in the hands of Askaris was only rendered possible by the colonial policy of modern times.

All this may have contributed to the many mistakes and misunderstandings that occurred when the native represented or imitated a European implement which he intended for his own use. But there was a further reason as well. For though the white man might be surrounded with thousands of things made of hundreds of materials, each primitive tribe paid attention only to the meaning of these objects which were comprehensible to its mentality, and completed or embellished other civilizing elements already at hand. They began to notice individual details and to admire them, and confused them with the traditional forms of their own civilization. Numerous possessions of the white man remained unknown, despite their practical value, and the most they did was to use their shape for decoration. Before adopting the more developed productions of the modern world it was essential for the savage to understand their value, and have, at the same time, a mental capacity for assimilating what he understood; otherwise no object could become part of the civilization of the particular tribe. Thus the negro has, of course, recognized the usefulness of a parasol, and has adopted it, but a camera belonged to the class of the unknown and therefore ridiculous and, for him, useless things. They had, of course, in the early stages of photography observed the white man in a ludicrous attitude creeping under a black cloth, fiddling about under it, and grouping persons round him in front of the comic apparatus (Kunzfeld). But the process of photography remained inexplicable. In the same way, the many iron implements the white man brought with him made no impression on the negro; he had long known about the use of iron; but on the natives of the South Seas the effect was revolutionary. A selection of examples will show us how the white man's widely different implements have been imitated by coloured tribes, partly understood and partly misconstrued.

The white man's chief secret was the firearm. It had decided for good and all the question of power and mastery in a manner perfectly plain. The possessor of the firearm was lord over his barefooted neighbours with their arrows and bows. The master of its use was the lord of the hunt, the lord



FIG. 104 which is not hollowed out. Hammer there is none. As decoration and magic charm, a piece of wood without practical significance has been attached above the trigger-guard disk. The shape of the butt has been relatively well observed.

Far more complete is the imitation of a gun from Senegambia (Fig. 105) (Trocadéro Museum, Paris), which bears engraved upon it the year it was made—1866. In this piece, also, the idea of the two different materials of which a gun consists, and the mechanical action, have not been mastered. This is all the more striking since, in the drawings of the natives, it is always the most important mechanical parts, such as lock, trigger-guard, hammer, etc., which are represented in exaggerated form. But here the craftsman has contented himself with putting in the clips and trigger-guard as simple notches, inserting between barrel and butt a decorative middle-piece, adorning some of the spaces with engraving and completely omitting “unessential” things, such as trigger, hammer, and lock.

The gun was frequently welcomed, especially in Africa, as an essential element in the forms of traditional objects of ordinary use. One of the loveliest of these pieces is Fig. 106, a chieftain's chair from Kpandu in Togoland, an example of Ewe-work, made with the care that was formerly bestowed on the production of such pieces (Gruner Collection, Jena). The material was the wood of the cotton-tree. In the left



FIG. 105

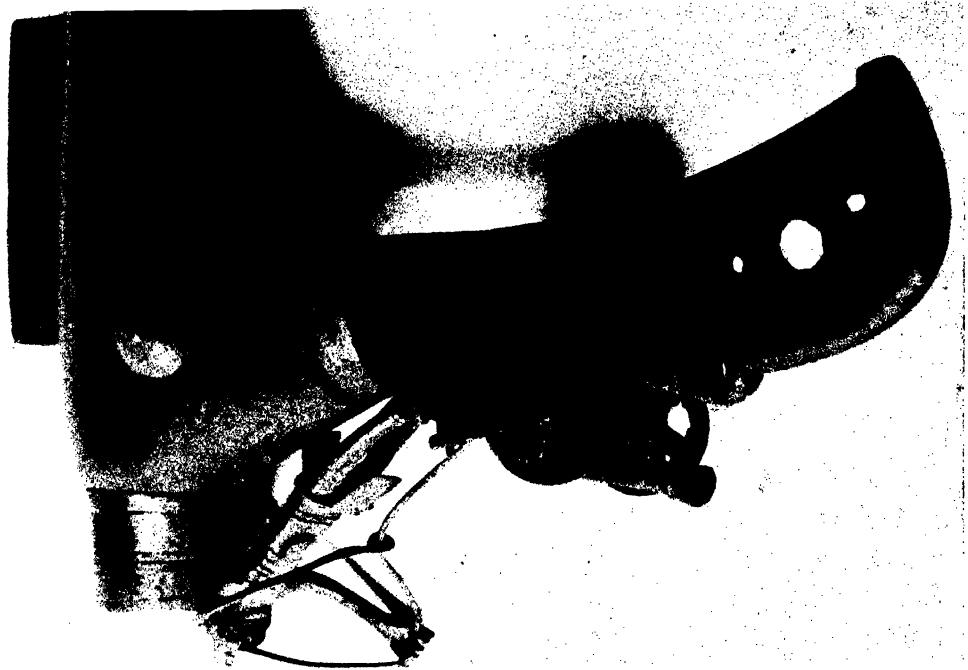


FIG. 106



hand of the man is an old-fashioned percussion-cap gun, the lock and hammer enormously exaggerated. It is one of the few plastic representations which show the weapon in a man's hand ready for firing, and even though the huntsman has a very poor prospect, with the gun in this position, of hitting the tiger on the other side, the thumb near the trigger implies an exact knowledge of the weapon and its handling.

In many older models of applied art among primitive tribes we find as parts the imitations of weapons belonging to earlier centuries, especially of mortars and antique cannon. Fig. 107 is a fine piece of this type (Trocadéro Museum, Paris); it is a mattock in wood and iron from Dahomey, the upper



FIG. 108

end showing a carved cannon and the figure of a gunner, holding the cannon on a rope with both arms. The four-spoked wheels of the cannon have been well studied, whilst the barrel itself, on account of the difficulty of representation, is not hollow, but is made of solid iron.

In Fig. 108 a Dahomey negro (Trocadéro Museum, Paris) has decorated his walking-stick with a European mortar. The two natives sitting in a peculiar attitude before and behind are gazing with their lifted faces into the distance, as though they wanted to follow the flight, or the result of the round shot fired from the mortar. The mortar itself is not hollowed out.

Similar imitations of cannon have found their way into the miniature models of the Ashanti. In particular their gold weights which are modelled

upon all kinds of objects—birds, animals, tools—and so afford an excellent measure of the status of Ashanti culture, include a number of miniature guns and cannon.

Imitations of the gun by the negro prove that he knew it only as a fire-arm; the thought never occurred to him that in the gun-butt he had a



FIG. 109

weapon of offence. Thus not only the forms of Figs. 104 and 105, but also the use of soft wood, show the impossibility of using either object as a club.

The imagination of the Southern Islanders reacted in quite a different manner from that of the African negro to the appearance of the gun. They had long been familiar with the wooden club as a weapon of war—it was an element of their material culture, and the sight of the European weapon led



FIG. 110

to their making many of these stiff-shaped clubs to resemble guns. They decorated them with fine, notched ornamentations with which they were familiar from the ceremonial oars and similar objects of their civilization. Figs. 109 and 110 (Linden Museum, Stuttgart) show both forms of gun from Fiji, but even a hasty glance shows us that the two objects were produced for two entirely different purposes. Fig. 109 is clearly the conscious imitation of a gun, consisting of light wood which is useless for a club, and

is obviously the result of a playful desire to imitate. Fig. 110 shows a genuine heavy war-club, fit for the natives to use in any campaign. Fig. 109 has a long and perfectly straight barrel, though it has no trigger-guard, sights, or lock, to which, after a decorated intermediate piece, is attached the well-shaped butt—the typical imitation. Fig. 100 is the war-club, coloured with European washing-blue, which was frequently used instead of cobalt. The muzzle of the barrel is closed with a knob, since the muzzle-end is not thought of as hollow, but rather as suited to the native style of warfare—and as a practical handle for the club, which is held, not as one holds a gun, but at the opposite end. Here the inspiration of form only has been put to use, and perhaps the European weapon as such was completely misunderstood, and its shape only vaguely applied.

There are numerous counterparts to these Fiji clubs, scattered over the museums of the world. Many of them, though termed 'gun-clubs', are

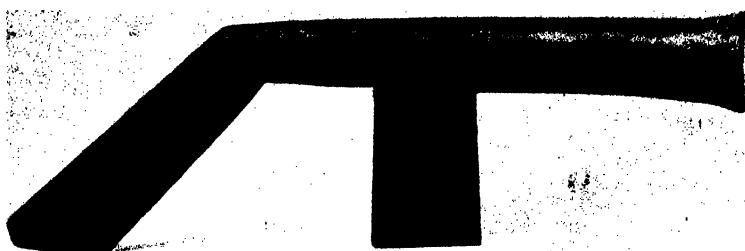


FIG. 111

quite unlike this weapon, being altogether too stumpy and provided only at the upper end of the club with the suggestion of a gun-butt and trigger-guard (Linden Museum, Stuttgart), or they thicken out but slightly and suggest the gun-butt by a short end forming an angle.

I have seen only one imitation of the white man's other firearm, the pistol (Fig. 111) (Royal Conservatoire of Music, Brussels). As there was no question here of lending magic powers to a native weapon by making its shape resemble that of a European weapon—in fact the form of a pistol was given to a very different object, namely a flute—it is possible that it was meant to be a jesting imitation, maybe it was even supposed to reproduce the whine of the bullet when the shot was fired. The native from the Belgian Congo, who carved the flute out of wood, made his musical instrument like an object he had seen in a white man's hand,

without perhaps even understanding its meaning. For, of course, a pistol, which was far less used than a sporting rifle, could not, on account of its smaller size, make anything like the impression that a gun would make. The magazine is engraved with ornamental lines, and the centre-piece, which also has lines carved into it, is probably intended to be a rather exaggerated enlargement of the trigger-guard and cock.

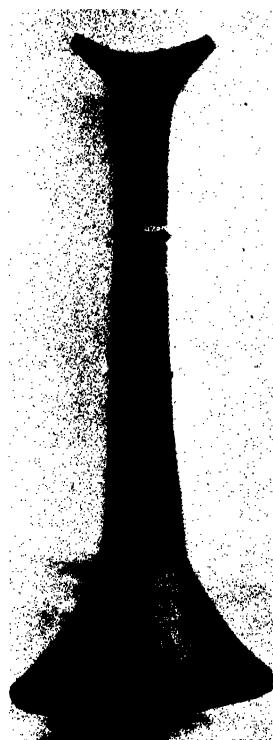


FIG. 112



FIG. 113

When the white man later developed his Askari along systematic military lines, and instructed them in the use of hand firearms, the natives had hardly time to produce, in laborious carving and engraving, the weapon they had so highly esteemed. And again, some of its magic had departed; it was no longer a miracle, since the black man had learnt how to handle it, and it was no longer necessary to copy it in making canes and clubs, since now they had the weapon itself.

There were plenty of other mysterious things, the novel shape of which charmed the imagination, even though their meaning was not at all or only half-comprehended. One of these jesting imitations in outward form we see in Fig. 112 (Royal Conservatoire of Music, Brussels), which is an old naval speaking tube. It comes from the Congo, but is not hollowed out, and therefore useless as an instrument.

The imitation of a clarinet from the Belgian Congo is very peculiar; it correctly shows the tubular shape of the instrument (Fig. 113) (Royal Conservatoire of Music, Brussels), but has only two correctly fitted keys, whilst the others are simply carved at random on the surface, and even interspersed with mythological animals—a remarkable example of the confusion which the mixture of European belongings with the old conception had produced in the brain of this artist in wood.



FIG. 114

The white man's musical instruments are frequently imitated and usually correctly understood. Sometimes the artists produced string and wind instruments that were playable, at other times they transferred the European forms to native instruments, and in doing so often heightened or altered their effect. To the most interesting pieces produced through misunder-

standing of their meaning belong three ivory flutes from the Congo (Fig. 114) (Royal Conservatoire of Music, Brussels), which have the form of European keys. The original data explain that the maker of these instruments heard white men whistling to one another for signalling purposes, took the whistles to be valuable musical treasures and imitated them as flutes in the form of keys. They reproduce the ward of the key very well in its proper form; the upper end was not made ring-shaped as in the originals, but has a decorated oval surface, a beautiful moulded head, or a cross.

The native, as a rule, misunderstood not only the European key, but the lock as well, used as a padlock. He had no occasion to concern himself with it in detail, for his home and chattels needed no fastenings and only the poor slaves of earlier days, who had been fettered to a chain, had an

exact knowledge of the European iron lock, and carved it on their ivory tusks only too true to nature, as it dangled from their slave-fork (Fig. 176). Their more fortunate brothers, however, employed only the shape of the lock for their carvings, without understanding the mechanism, or even the method of use. Thus, from Dahomey we get a walking-stick in which the shaft is adorned with a carved padlock and a key. Fig. 115 (Trocadéro Museum, Paris), from the same region, is a hatchet, with a blade shaped as a padlock, which of course makes the tool useless. Here it was the novel form of a lock, not the possibility of using the article, which seems to have been of



FIG. 115

moment; so the lock comes into certain forms of applied art as a new and decorative factor.

Other utensils belonging to the white man were, however, immediately understood and copied with conscious knowledge of their use. To this class belongs the white man's tobacco-pipe, which many tribes understood, because they already knew it from their own ceremonies, though in a different form. We have already seen among the North-West American Indians flat tobacco-pipes beautifully carved in slate or steatite, and decorated with all the forms of native symbolism, mixed with artistic designs from the white man's world. The white man's tobacco-pipe was quite

differently shaped, consisting simply of a tobacco-container and a stem attached, and the Indian preference for intricately-carved ornament could not put up with bald and simple imitation of such insipid stuff.

In Fig. 116, which is a piece of Haida work from Skitegate (Trocadéro

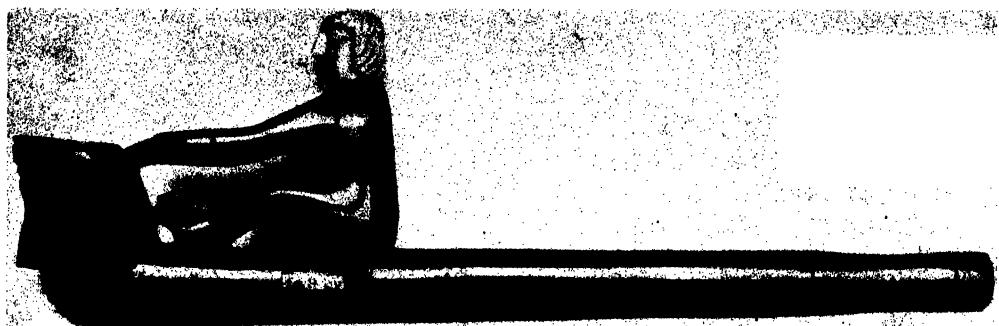


FIG. 116

Museum, Paris), the pipe-head is carved with the features of a European, the back of the bowl is covered with line ornament to indicate hair, while on the smooth stem is seated a small attached figure, to which has been fitted a profile head of light-coloured bone; the European profile is a plain indication of the white man.

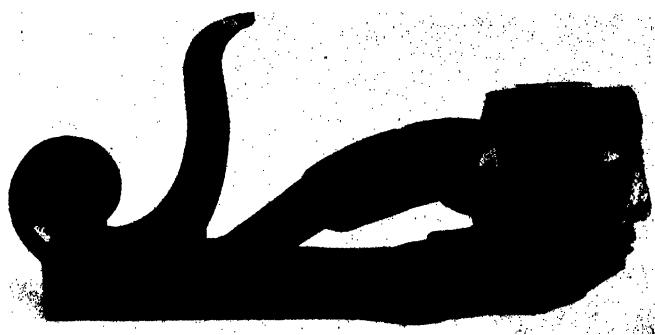


FIG. 117

In Fig. 117 (Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum, Cologne) the imagination of the Haida artist has been much more prolific, and has added a host of fantastic motifs to the simple basic form. The pipe shows a face which we plainly see to be European, but it is accompanied by the peculiar ornament

of a pair of trousers legs with military boots; behind them rises a spiral snake-like ornament.

Despite the fact that tobacco-smoking and, therefore, the pipe, were originally confined presumably to America, and only attained their wide popularity in the Old World and in Asia through European influence, many imitations of pipes have found their way into the later native applied art. The elegant specimens in earthenware or brass from Bamum are specially



FIG. 118



FIG. 119

impressive. I have selected two illustrations which, by their appearance, clearly indicate their origin; their whole form is European, and the pipe-bowls are European heads, and vastly different from the old pieces mentioned.

Figs. 118 and 119 both come from the Cameroons (Linden Museum, Stuttgart; and Konietzko Collection, Hamburg). They show us pipes with European heads in hat and sports-cap as pipe-bowls. Another specimen,

not illustrated here, has attached to the mouth of the man's face, which forms the pipe-head, yet another miniature tobacco-pipe. The result is not in very good taste, but it is effective.

The skirt is the feature that labels the white woman, but it is his peculiar head-gear that indicates the white man. In numerous drawings and models made by primitive tribes, as we have already seen in Chapter V, the cap, hat, or tropical helmet is what typifies the European. Next to the gun, it is the European head-dress that specially awakens the attention of the coloured folk. But when they tried to imitate this peculiar object by itself it became evident that its shape was recognized, but its purpose misconstrued. There is in the Trocadéro a tropical helmet from Madagascar, which is made of heavy wood. In size and shape it is exactly like the model. The idea, however, that such a cork helmet is essentially light and cool had not occurred to the artist's mind; its purpose was not understood.

The more the European lost importance as a sensational new phenomenon, and became, owing to his numbers and daily appearance, a habitual sight, the greater was the opportunity given the native to disregard the man and bestow an inquisitive interest upon his utensils and customs. The fashion of having a meal, for example, caused great astonishment; his table-cloth, glasses, bottles, and table service were things of wonder. And soon he initiated his servants into the art of waiting at table. This was what brought the secrets of his table customs to the knowledge of the native observer. The Lisbon Geographical Society is in possession of some very beautiful copies of table utensils, in some of which we find no difficulty in recognizing the French prototypes.

From Mozambique comes the ebony cruet stand (Fig. 120); we have seen its far less valuable counterpart on small Parisian marble tables.

Fig. 121, which looks like a collection of loud-speakers in a public square, comes from the same region, and is the imitation of a flower-stand. The model of a wooden decanter for table decoration, Fig. 122, was executed by natives of the Bissagos Islands (Portuguese Guinea), and shows, despite its resemblance to the shape of an English Worcester-sauce bottle, the ornaments of West African native art.

The spoon as a ladle is common probably all the world over, whether in the most primitive shape, i.e. the natural forms of half-coconuts or mussels, or in the elegant carving of the South Sea Islanders. It was required to ladle out water or food, and in many cases, perhaps, even to carry food to the mouth; but the European possessed it in quite a different form; his had

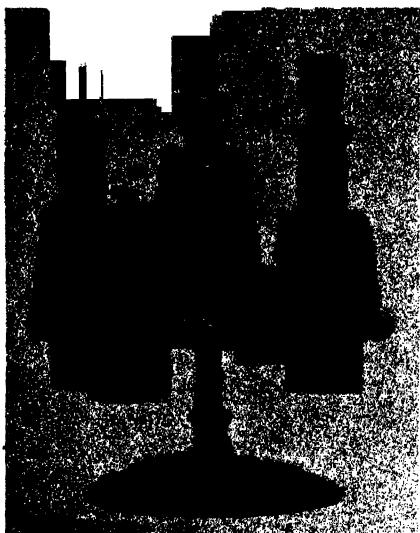


FIG. 120



FIG. 121



FIG. 122



FIG. 123

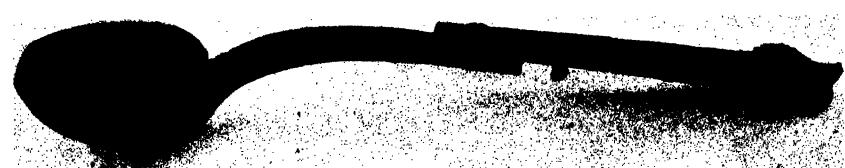


FIG. 124

a long handle which was carefully formed, and a longish oval or round lower portion. The African tribes in particular admired this utensil, and soon the magnificent chased-work tribal imitations of the ordinary spoon were far more lovely and valuable than the Europeans' own spoons.

Fig. 123 shows us one of the exhibits from Benin (Municipal Museum, Brunswick). The material is ivory ; the spoon was produced in the middle of the sixteenth century. It shows the separation between handle and end which is typical of the European article. Whilst the scoop ends in a wonderful sweep that forms a triangle with curved sides, the richly chased handle is crowned with a fabulous animal. There are two parallels to this fine piece in the same Museum; in one of them a handle is formed from the head of a long-beaked bird, which has caught a fish; the other spoon shows a series of animals piled up in totem-pole fashion. Their resemblance to Gothic forms is amazing; the faun perched on the top bears a speaking likeness to the Devil of Notre Dame. These Benin spoons show a perfection of power and ability in art and craftsmanship such as our modern times have long since lost.

The black men of the lower Congo obtained quite a different idea of a European spoon (Fig. 124) (Ethnographical Museum of Sweden). It was a simple ladle with rounded lower portion, which broke whilst the European was using it. The white man, who needed this spoon, put matters right by mending the broken handle; he laid one piece upon the other and screwed the pieces together, making the article a good spoon once more. The sight of this spoon, which was, since its repair, a most uncommon spoon, became an obsession with the black artist. He copied it, copied it down to the minutest detail. He chose a piece of wood, and carved from one single block an imitation of the broken and repaired spoon, forgetting neither the exact outlines of the broken piece of handle as they lay one on the other, nor the screw, which in the old European spoon held them together. He actually carved the head of the screw—exactly—with the small slit for the screw-driver and spent much care producing, on the underside, the projecting end of the screw which was (in the original) too long. The upper end of the handle he decorated with a reptile's head, and some ornamental scales.

Novel European forms enriched native applied art in a manner which is explained in Figs. 125 and 126. The exhibits come from Angola (Lisbon Geographical Society). To the original shapes of the practical object were added motifs taken from native art with additions inspired by European sources. Fig. 125 is a most uncommon specimen,

displaying the spoon-handle as a human hand, holding a round bowl; the arm is portrayed by a knotted, finely worked snake with open mouth. Fig. 126 has a handle made, so to speak, out of two parts, which are connected by a ring held by two hands. In both pieces it is manifest that the relatively hackneyed European forms were perfected by primitive tribes in a manner which far exceeds the white man's imagination and capacity.

From other table-ware they learnt practical details and applied them to their own familiar utensils to modernize them in some sort. Thus we find a fork made of Alaska reindeer-horn (Zürich University Ethnological Collection), which was rendered more practical by a handle of European shape. And an artist from the South-East Cameroons has set a European knife-blade in a native handle woven round with brass wire (Ethnological Museum, Lübeck).

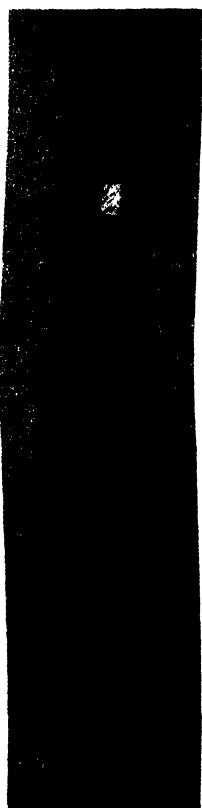


FIG. 126



FIG. 125

On the white man's table lay not only knives, forks, and spoons, but an array of bottles and glasses. They are, in many well-known pictures, just as much associated with the general description of the European as are hat or chair. Tankards and bottles made a very strong impression on primitive peoples; and for this probably their refreshing contents were largely responsible. Their imitations are in part so like the original vessels that there is no point in reproducing them here. There is an earthenware water jug (Portuguese Angola), which is the perfect copy of a Southern European vessel, a tea-kettle from Togoland, in black earthenware, which is deceptive in its likeness to the original, European beer-bottles with a wealth of decoration, and numerous receptacles of the kind. Count Pfeil tells of a piece of carved South Sea work which was a masterly execution of a European beer bottle label. The European beer bottle, its contents, and its effect are the nucleus of a host of artistic conceptions; corresponding to the value of the wondrous liquor within.

All this was worth fathoming, investigating, and recording in model and line. There were other objects to hand, but they seemed uninteresting; people ignored them, and preferred to turn their attention to something more striking. Really there was nothing sensational in the small vest-pocket instrument, which the white man kept pulling out on occasions and hiding again—the watch. It is highly interesting to note that primitive tribes were hardly impressed at all. It measured time. Time! Why measure



FIG. 127

a thing of which there was always enough? For none of the specimens in this book would have had much chance of existence had the artist not had countless hours, days, and months of leisure at his disposal. The South Sea engravings, produced without the help of a knife, the bronzes and castings from lost moulds, the slate carvings and engravings with their exact miniature decoration—all this would surely have never come to creation had a large central clock hung over the huts, to divide the hours into official compartments, the hours that the savage, after all,

simply wanted to pass as pleasantly as possible between hunting, eating, and sleep.

I have not found any imitations of the watch either in Australia or yet in Africa, or other regions peopled by tribes whose time does not

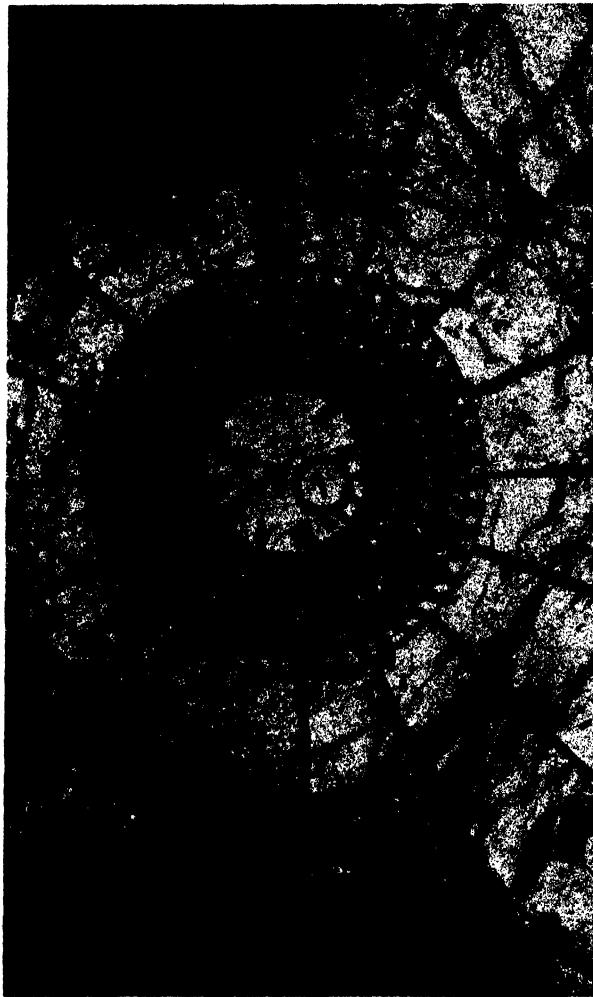


FIG. 128

mean money, and to whom the idea of measuring time must appear unintelligible and absurd. Consequently the two exhibits I have which reproduce the watch-dial come from northern parts: Fig. 127 from the

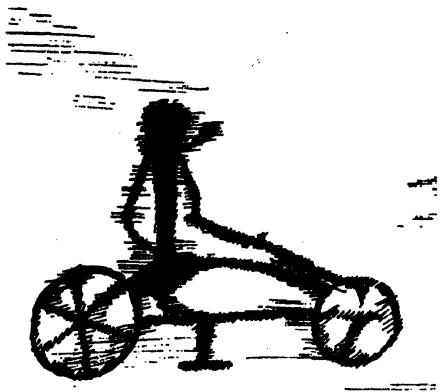


FIG. 129

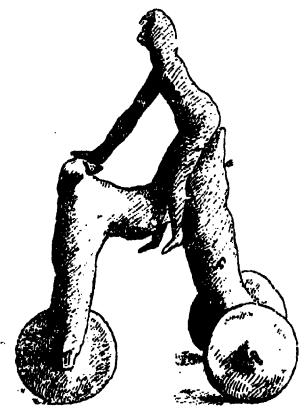


FIG. 130



FIG. 131

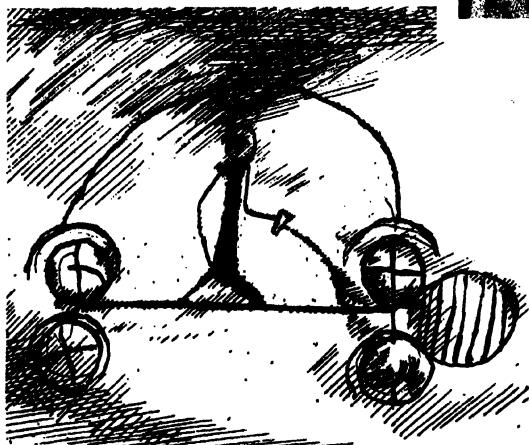


FIG. 122



FIG. 133

Usbeks of Tashkent, and Fig. 128 from the Aleutian Isles. Both pieces are in the Central Ethnological Museum, Moscow. The Uzbek specimen is a metal die in silver for producing decoration, and has Roman figures correctly indicated. The hands are pointing to twelve, and we can recognize the ring and winding-screw correctly proportioned: they are couched in rich accompanying decoration. The other example from the Aleutian Isles is the upper portion of a buckskin cap, into which a dial has been embroidered with thread. The figures are incorrect, but a small dial showing the seconds has been inserted in the correct position. These tribes have introduced the clock-motif in infinitely varied form; we cannot afford to ignore it as part of their applied art. We find it on carved boards from the Usbeks, used for designing embroideries, and we find it again in the shoulder decorations of their women, worked in silver leaf.

Among the white man's methods of conveyance by land, the coloured world was most impressed by the bicycle and the motor car. Though in the art of those regions that were not acquainted with the horse, the white man's steed was represented as a creature of fable, though many utensils were misunderstood, it is peculiar that the purpose and mechanism of the cycle and the car have almost always been recognized.

Fig. 129 (Evans) is a cave drawing of the Negritos from Upper Perak, and shows very plainly the most important parts of a bicycle: two wheels, handlebars, a remarkable fork, no seat, and a rather unsuccessful suggestion of pedals. The wheels show spokes, they are fairly round, and not in any one of these drawings can we call them thoroughly unsuccessful, though now and again other parts of the machine make the wildest demands on the imagination.

From South Africa comes a model of a tricycle in earthenware—Fig. 130 (Christol): it really looks like the old high bicycle ('penny-farthing'). A tall saddle, something like a horse's back, is supported on two thick stumps, which, in their turn, rest on three wheels. The wheels themselves are round, distinct, and provided with axles. This model was produced before the 'safety' models came in, which ousted the 'penny-farthing' and the tricycle, and is, therefore, historically exceptionally interesting. But how the propulsion of this vehicle was to be shown appears to have been an insoluble problem for its creator.

The most masterly illustration of a cycle that I know is on an elephant-tusk from Lagos—on the Guinea Coast (Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum, Cologne), Fig. 131. The wheels here are rather too small to be in proportion,

but all the other characteristics of a cycle are correctly given: fork, handle-bars, pedal, and even free-wheel. As the wheels were made small, the axle-connection was perforce very long, which turned the frame of the machine into a parallelogram ; this has a rather peculiar effect technically. The figure of the European is a wonderful bit of work. Both hands are holding the bars, the left foot is pressing directly on the pedal, and behind the chain-wheel the right leg is visible in the correct position. The cyclist's bent back, his sports cap, and his watchful eye, make this portrait in ivory a cabinet-piece full of character and life. In India, too, and in the Malay States we find on temple-friezes pictures of Europeans on bicycles, and on a gourd from East Africa a black man has engraved an Indian soldier on a cycle (Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh).

In the case of the other rolling European vehicle, which is served; not by bodily exertion, but through mystic motor force, the draughtsman's knowledge fails him (Fig. 132, Negritos from Upper Perak, Evans). The illustration shows four wheels, the bonnet, a hood, a steering-wheel, and a seat. The cave dweller is unable to reproduce any more. As some sort of luxury he adds mudguards, and to a figure, which with the left hand is managing the steering-wheel, he devotes a certain amount of attention. Though the picture is meant to give a side view of the car, the artist prefers a logical imitation of the vehicle; he shows us all four wheels. That in addition to logical style and intellectual realism he is also master of visual realism is proved by Fig. 133. This side view correctly shows two wheels only. There is a good deal of life in this illustration of the closed car, and the idea of the hands on the wheel is better executed, though bonnet and mudguards are missing. When we consider the scanty artistic evidence left by these Negritos in their primitive life, these drawings are worth exceptional study.

Of course, the steam and fire-horse, the white man's railway, has found some, but infrequent, illustration. Schufeldt, for example, publishes an interesting drawing by a Navajo Indian.

As land and water communications became simpler and more rapid, a new object became more frequent. This was the letter. The natives themselves were scarcely interested in its contents, but their business with it became more detailed when it was handed to them for delivery, with the most stringent precautions and arrangements for its security. In some engravings, particularly those of the Babwende (Manke), the complete ceremonial of the white man's letter has been reconstructed.

When the white man lived with his family in native countries, the coloured men found a chance to get to know the peculiar toys of European children, possessing as they did all the characteristics of genuine white people: these were the dolls. These too, though not frequently, spurred the natives to imitation. The doll was a very interesting object. It reminded them of the images of ancestors familiar to their own culture, and was a



FIG. 134



FIG. 135

half-way house between play and imagination, and therefore akin to the spiritual life of these peoples, who love to interpret the magic as real, and invest reality with magic powers.

Fig. 134 (Basle Mission Museum) shows a doll from Bonaku, in the Cameroons. It is a copy of a European original. It was produced in 1908, and painted white; the hair on the head is indicated by black paint. The typical doll-shape of the legs, the short arms, and the idiotically

laughing face, are very characteristic. The figure was supplied with two breasts to show its sex.

The doll from Wahehe, in Kenya Colony (Fig. 135) (Linden Museum, Stuttgart), is probably considerably older; its stiff outlines remind one of the toys of old Nuremberg; the hat and clothes show it to be European.

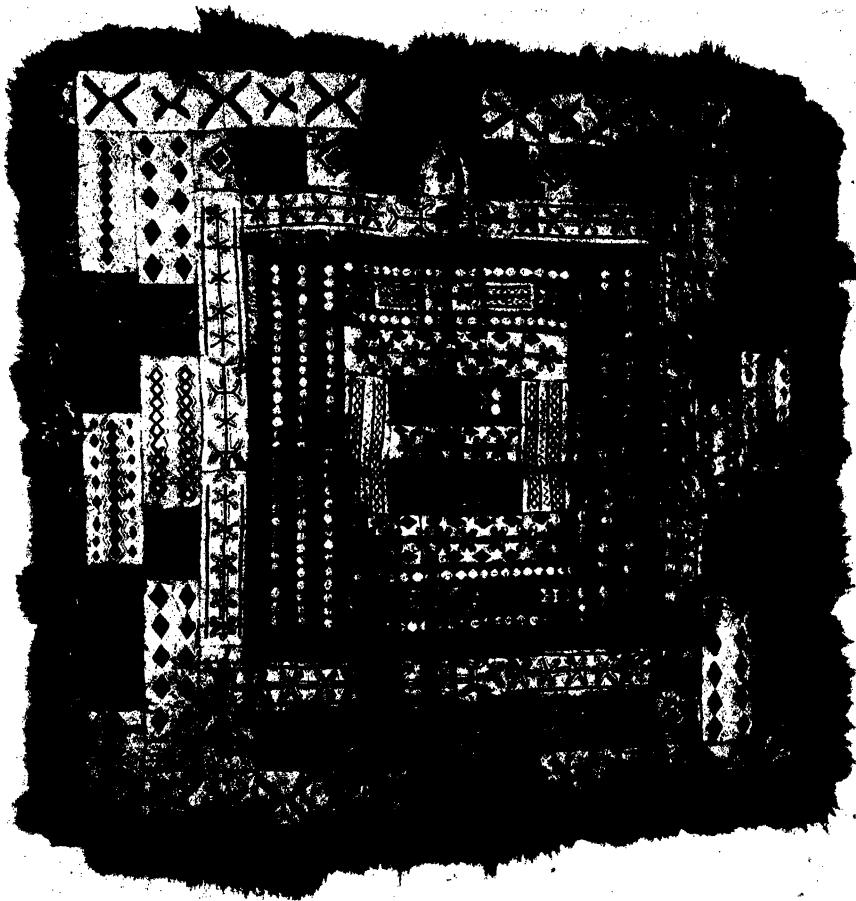


FIG. 136

It is not children only who play: the white man himself sometimes sits at his ease and, in his play, puts down coloured cards on the table. The Koryaks (Fig. 136) have decorated a leather-carpet with the figures

of a pack of cards (Moscow Central Ethnological Museum). We see the five of hearts, the ten of diamonds, and the aces of clubs and diamonds, while diamond shapes are the chief ornament that is repeated in the general pattern.

When he played and when he rested the white man sat in the shadow of his house, or he spread an open parasol above him, an object of such extraordinary value and practical utility in the tropics that it required



FIG. 137

no special intelligence to understand its qualities. The non-worker, the master, sat beneath it, and this object therefore was mentioned at the beginning of this chapter as being symbolic of might and greatness. We have spoken of it as denoting the power of kings and nobles in extensive regions of Africa, but it has also found expression as decoration in the woven and appliquéd work of the San Blas Indians of Panama (British Museum, London). The peculiar form of the parasol, the dome which

lavishes protection and shade, converted it, in the primitive tribal conception, into a magic shape which is spread in protection over the mighty and holy ones, and we need only think of the baldaquin, under which the Holy of Holies is carried in Catholic processions, to understand the parasol as emblem of the creator of the world.

In the Nicobars this God is called Deuse (Fig. 137) (British Museum, London), and his power is manifested not only in a European parasol, but in numerous surrounding symbols of European omniscience in general: chair, hat, wheel and clock, chest, bottle, letter, gun and pocket-knife, bell, mirror and comb surround Deuse. These objects are blended with objects of native culture, and the whole scene presents omniscience. The God Deuse is portrayed on a wooden board, painted red, white, and black; the board is called *hentā*. This picture of an apotheosis of the power of the white man, living amid his belongings and objects of daily use, combined in mysterious fashion with the religious ideas of primeval superstition, shows the perfection of omniscience and omnipotence, manifested in the God Deuse, surrounded by the strange furniture of Europe.

Chapter VII

MISSIONARIES, MONKS, AND THE NEW GOD

A SOLDIER was easy to recognize. He might be a strange shape, surrounded by new magic attributes, but he embodied a principle that had long been the sum total of life's meaning for the early savage, the recognition of the right of the stronger. The strong man, the man with the harder muscles, the man with the better muscles, the man with the better weapon, the man who puts up the sterner resistance to the forces of nature, is the natural conqueror of the man whom he has overcome. That is a philosophy which is obvious to every native, and which, in his heart of hearts, he admits as correct.

The white man who followed the soldier instituted new laws, which were to be obeyed. If you did so, you had peace. For the white man, in the mass, required only one thing from the native, and that was obedience. If he obtained obedience, he allowed the subject his wonted rights and liberties, in so far as they did not violently interfere with the white man's interests. And soon the coloured psychologists realized that it was actually fairly easy to keep on good terms with the European, and that many advantages ensued as the result of his appearance, so long as the white man obtained the obedience he demanded. Then one could obtain some stealthy knowledge of his technical skill, use his implements, and, despite everything, still remain the same son of nature as before.

Soon, however, it came to pass that amid the huge crowd of men with hats, walking-sticks, coats, and trousers, other men became prominent. They had arrived immediately after the soldiers, but they had not been noticed—and so had been identified with the rest of the crowd. It was not until people had grown used to gazing into white faces, that they became aware of the difference in this species. They had neither rifles nor gay uniforms, and it would not have been in place to characterize them simply as Europeans, with bottles in their hands, or to represent them as sitting on a chair—typifying 'another of them'. These men came without making any claims to superiority of muscle or weapon. Nor did they require obedience straight away, blunt downright obedience, never leaving you in the dark as to what was wanted. They

had white faces, and European implements, but they did not use their superiority, or they concealed it in a perplexing way. What did they want in the country of the black man, the red man, the yellow man? His land? His women? His ivory and his skins? Their hands reached out after nothing of that kind. A long long time passed before it became manifest that they, too, were—soldiers, soldiers of a complicated and peculiar type, not in the least anxious for a noisy victory. These quiet men demanded victories more durable, more terrifying, and more revolutionary; they desired to conquer the souls of nature's children. They were the first who made a spiritual claim—a claim that was first of all derided, then inquisitively studied, or misunderstood, or accepted, to the intangible element in man. And the treacherous lasso which they flung at the simple native who had been enslaved by the soldier, and out-and-out exploited by the white man, was this: "Before our God all men are equal".

There had been gods before. They were stern, changeable, and pitiless. Besides them, there were the spirits of the dead, whose vengeance the natives feared, seeking to appease it by trickery and masked dances. There was a world beyond, too, in which their distinguished tribesmen attained immortality, as did their brave warriors, and, under certain conditions, the poor sons of the wilderness as well. But the gods were greedy in their demands, and none but the rich man or the hero might, without alarm, draw near their images. Animals and grasses, stones and birds, the whole world was filled with magic influences, with vengeful spirits whom it was important to conciliate, with devils who had to be bribed. Then came the white man with his weapons, mightier than arrow and snake-bite, mightier than the old gods, whom in many cases he replaced—until it was noticed that he, too, was only a man, who claimed food and land and women. But as he was the oppressor, he was obeyed. Spite was perforce silenced. Bitter was the load they bore in feeling their own impotence, the inferiority of their coloured faces when confronted by the white faces of the omniscient. They had to hew themselves to their fate, take on slavery, rank as men of second or lowest grade of all, and to oppose these feelings they had nothing but the joys of deceit, and the crafty satisfaction of silent observation. That was their life, and this life they had agreed to endure, till these new creatures, in the long black coats, arrived. They made no claim to be gods. They wished only to tell of One, whose messengers they were, and who had said that even the poorest were His brothers, and Who promised them Paradise.

It is out of place here to describe the spiritual revolution which the silent entry of these new soldiers brought with it. It was a heated combat, which in early days was partly carried on by trouble and bloody means; the missionaries, on their side, displayed incredible patience, but were, at the same time, deficient in ethnological sense and psychology. Recently, however, all this has changed, and it is now no mere coincidence that among the greatest names in anthropological science we find to-day the names of monks and missionaries, who are fighting all over the dark continent with the weapons of kindness and science, and are succeeding in their struggle, by using a combination of deep wisdom and psychology. The men of God were phenomena which made their appearance in the new Colonial territories from the very outset, even before the trader. These men wanted souls for the new God, and wherever they appeared the old pictures of ancestors and gods, fetishes and magic implements, began to disappear. Weaker and weaker became the old world of supernatural magic, and in its place came the sober world of the Christian God.

In place of the admirable old portraits of the ancient gods and devils came, as they vanished, a new Something, the picture of the man who had expelled them. The picture of the missionary, of the monk, and later of the nun, the picture of the emblem of the Christian God, and finally God himself, as a child in the Arms of the Virgin Mother, and onwards to the glorification of His death of sacrifice. With him the missionary brought the whole body of conception pertaining to his Faith, the Cross, the rosary, and the Bible translated into negro and Indian tongues.

Coloured people who had been won over by the messengers of Christ soon began not only to express their new impression in their art, but also to include in that art the emblem and documents of the new Faith. Frequently these converts, in the zeal of their new-found belief, were more active and enthusiastic in elaborating the new creed than were the white Christians in lands where this creed had long been a tradition, and there are numerous touching examples of the intensity of their efforts. Tschudi publishes the 'Small Catechism' as an old South American Indian designed it in the Aymara tongue. The lettering is placed on an irregularly shaped ground, and shows the seven sacraments of the Catholic Church, together with general rules such as the prescription of Easter Confession, the hearing of Mass on Sunday, and other things. The individual written characters consist of vertical and horizontal strokes, which are interspersed with human figures, crosses, circles, monstrances, and other symbols. The

Mexican Indians also (Seler) have produced the Small Catechism in artistic painting with the help of their written characters. From Copacahuana in South America comes an exceedingly interesting water-colour (Tschudi). This representation of a procession, which is produced upon six very gaily painted strips of paper, is specially noteworthy owing to the remarkably fine figure-drawing of many members of the procession, who might serve as costume designs for a modern ballet. These processions, as we learn from contemporary priests, were so interspersed with the primitive religious conceptions of the Indians (representations of animals, masked dancers, figures of birds, and clowns step-dancing, laughing, and singing, behind the Holy of Holies), that it was impossible "to eliminate the heathen principle". In fact, there were priests who ingeniously helped to strengthen these tendencies, "for the livings would not be half so lucrative" if these adjuncts were suppressed, and the Indians paid for no more festivals.

Of course, these were exceptions. And though a completely pure and drossless Christianity will probably never take complete root in the soul of the primitive tribes—though they may sometimes slink back at night to the old fetishes, and only emphasize their 'piety' towards the new God by day, perhaps only to receive a beautiful Cross or a rosary—yet there are numerous examples, of line-drawings especially, which exhibit a profound meditation upon problems of the new religion. An old Chippewa Indian (Donaldson) has produced a highly original drawing, which he calls "White man's Paradise and the six modes of getting in it", in which, between moon, sun, clouds, and stars, we may see ladders set up aslant in boundless space; some of them end in church doors, and men wearing hats are climbing them.

An aquarelle produced on the spot by the German painter Vollmberg, depicting a dance of the Quiché-Indians of Guatemala, is further evidence of the deep interest in Christianity. Here the blending of the new Christian beliefs with the old magic myths is shown with unvarnished frankness, for in front of a hut, which is meant to represent Gethsemane, and is adorned with flowers and fruit in honour of the Earth-Goddess, stands Christ, in a mask—the Christ of our religious pictures, in the bodily form of a native—between Peter, who is wearing the mask of an Indian Devil-dancer, and Paul, who looks completely European, while the Roman soldiers confront them, waiting to take Christ with a lasso. In the foreground two Indians supply music for the scene, on drum and rattle. The whole is only a part of the long ritual of the *Semana Santa*, i.e. Holy Week.

Certainly these final mysteries of the Christian faith were not so easy to understand as were its visible symbols, especially the Christian Cross, which has found a permanent place in the decorative art of primitive tribes, either as a motif on plastically adorned native implements, or as ornament in the form of pendants worn with sacred medals. Often again it is employed to give some sort of additional Christian power to the ancient magic, as we find in a Fetish from Gabun, which is intended to drive away the spirits of the Dead. A conglomeration of thought-sequences which almost defies unravelling appears on a tusk from Sierra Leone (Mauritianum, Altenburg), in which, alongside a woman, a dog, a sailing-ship and a soldier, a winged snake and a bird, a seemingly heraldic emblem and other single ornaments, we discover a monstrance between two candlesticks.

It would, at times, seem likely, especially in the case of the line-drawings of the primitive tribes, that too much new wine had been poured into their old bottles, and that their minds, unpractised in differentiation, have entertained every idea unselectively, then confused them all, and refused them in as great perplexity as they had felt at their acceptance. For their old religious faith was in their world of imagery completely real, and partly manifested in visible gods. But the white man's missionary taught them belief in one God, capable of definite and sharp presentation neither in person nor in picture, and naturally knowledge of such a God was a very difficult matter. Consequently many primitive tribes preferred, instead of making figures of the new far-off God, to make figures of the missionary in their midst, and therein they have been completely successful. If these plastics are now to speak for themselves, we must abandon the practice of studying them in regional distribution; it is much more important to collate striking variants of the same theme, and thereby obtain a far more vivid result. That the Catholic world should be so prominent in these works is not a matter for surprise, since the Church of Rome was pre-eminently in a position to send her missionaries out into the world. And, besides that, the Catholic ritual, with its symbolism and external splendour, ornament, and costume, was bound, by its appeal to the senses, to produce a much more intense effect at first among the primitive tribes than the soberer religion of the Protestant churches.

For West Africa again, above all countries, was reserved the role of lifting the missionary as a man from the chaos of difficult conceptions surrounding him, and of showing him as he was. And precisely as the

soldier and the white man, as white man, have found in West Africa their most characteristic monuments, so it is here also that the Missionary has received the most masterly and immortal portrayal.

In Fig. 138 (Anthropological Institute, Breslau) he is sitting in a dignified posture on a chair, as the crowning figure on a carved elephant-tusk which is covered with many individual scenes of life in the Cameroons. The bas-reliefs on this piece are executed with special care, and end at the top in a small round platform, which holds the man of God, who is probably a Lutheran missionary. He is dressed in coat and trousers, like any other European, and without a hat. His hands hold upon his knees the Bible, in which he has just been reading, and now his thoughts are straying afar, in reflection or in prayer. His features wear, as compared with those of the natives below him, an exceptionally tranquil, composed, and spiritual expression. His parted hair gives freedom to a mild, roundly-arching brow, beneath which are two gentle eyes. The mouth has a peaceful expression, and the whole head shows us the characteristics, splendidly caught by the artist, of a man who is as energetic as he is meek. We could easily believe him capable of rising briskly from his chair a few moments later, at the call of necessity, to apply the surgeon's knife to a patient with his own hands.

The same wise and peaceful expression is apparent in Fig. 139 (Mozambique Coast), from the National Museum, Copenhagen. Here we have a missionary in profile, who, like his previous colleague, has been selected as topmost figure of a carved elephant-tusk. The eyes, which are closed in meditation, the tender roundness of the cheek, and the intelligent shape of the back of the head, show us a servant of God who knows the peace that passes understanding, going his way in profound thought. The negro-artist seems to



FIG. 139



FIG. 138

have been specially attracted by his long overcoat, which he has adorned with twelve round buttons without buttonholes, so that presumably he was not quite clear as to how this piece of clothing should be fastened. Whilst the collar of this coat is very exactly fashioned, there are no pockets, though the childishly small hand of the missionary seems to be just looking for one. The hat is adorned with a rather over-emphasized hat-band.



FIG. 140

FIG. 141

In this portrait, as in Fig. 138, we are shown the essential nature of a missionary, a soldier of God—expressed in very intense fashion, and it is a plain deduction that the sculptor executed his task in admiration of the kindly intelligent man he knew.

Quite different is the case with Fig. 140 (Ethnological Museum, Berlin), a sculptured implement from Loango. This monk, who is carved in ivory, has been treated in such a decorative way, that we may suppose

the desire for a good ivory peg as hammock-fastener probably took precedence over any intentions of definite portraiture. On the other hand, this clever old cowled figure, with the typical beard and scanty moustache, seems to have been so popular in his district that he was an obvious choice for a model. His beard seems to be embedded in the hood which belongs to his priestly robes, for the edges of the hood go completely round his face, and vanish in the region of the neck. The eyes and strong eyebrows make one feel that very little would escape his ken, whilst the broad nose and full-lipped mouth are somewhat negroid in tone. The cowl has a cape to it, and from the cape protrude prominent arms, in narrow sleeves that are quite separate from the cape folds. Despite the delicate hands in which these arms terminate, one would like to suppose this monk a lay brother rather than a real priest, for his face, which is open to the world and almost mirthful, would seem quite ready to enjoy a worldly jest. Further, the use of his carved figure as an implement makes it plain that he was not held in any great dread. If we look down at the figure and cover up the portion below the hands, the proportions seem good, but if we consider the complete form, the arms are very much too long. The reason for this is the unusual shortness of the lower body, which has no legs. From the waist-line downwards the body and cape taper abruptly, and fit into the round socket of the hammock peg, forming a solid pin. The clothes that are visible beneath the cape, which is open at the front, are so conventionalized, especially in contrast with the exact treatment of the cape itself, that here it would seem that the artist's feeling for style, and not his gift of observation, was the decisive factor.

Fig. 141, from Angola (Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum, Cologne), seems to be a rather frigid gentleman; it may be that his wealth of learning has left the world behind and stifled most of his feelings for human weaknesses and merry laughter. There is hardly room under his small straw hat for his gigantic occiput; his mouth and his eyes show intense reserve. His high cassock is not distinctly marked at the neck, but has no buttons in front, and is provided with parallel lines to indicate the cassock edges. Arms and legs are astonishingly thin, hands and feet suggested only. He stands on a platform where he quite properly seems to be alone, for the impression he gives us is that he is more at ease holding his own in bloodless argument than acting the pioneer among the heathens in Africa.

Fig. 142, from the Lower Congo (Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum, Cologne), shows the missionary as amateur photographer, with his camera;



FIG. 142

as a clergyman with interests in science, who, alongside his cure of souls, keeps his eyes open to remarkable objects and subjects for study that surround him. He is barefoot, his trousers have dissolved into a column, and he stands on a rectangular socle. His robe, which is fastened high up with four buttons, denotes his calling from afar. His arms are very short. His right hand holds the camera, with the lens pointed forward ready for a snap, his left hand remains in his coat pocket. The dark flattened straw hat shadows a clever face, with eyelids and eyebrows marked in above the eyes, which are fixed on the spectator. His mouth is slightly open and is somewhat reproachful in expression, as though he were just asking a passing negro why he was not at church the previous Sunday. Presently, however, he will give him a friendly tap on the shoulder, and perhaps stroll along with him, or take a photograph of his parishioner's hut.

Fig. 143 shows us another clergyman out for a walk, and is one of the rare examples of East African plastic art. This missionary, with the somewhat hypocritical look, appears to be the tutor of a white boy from the Embassy, and the negroes probably derived immense enjoyment from the sight of the model boy walking submissively beside him. Both priest and pupil have large ears of peculiar shape, and avert their rigid gaze from the things of this world. The man of God is wearing a black straw hat; his hair is dark, his nose pointed, and his somewhat pinched mouth seems more at ease with Latin verbs than with a pleasant joke. In his left hand



FIG. 143

he is carrying a small leather wallet, possibly containing devotional books, or his breakfast, and in his right hand he has a ponderous walking-stick.

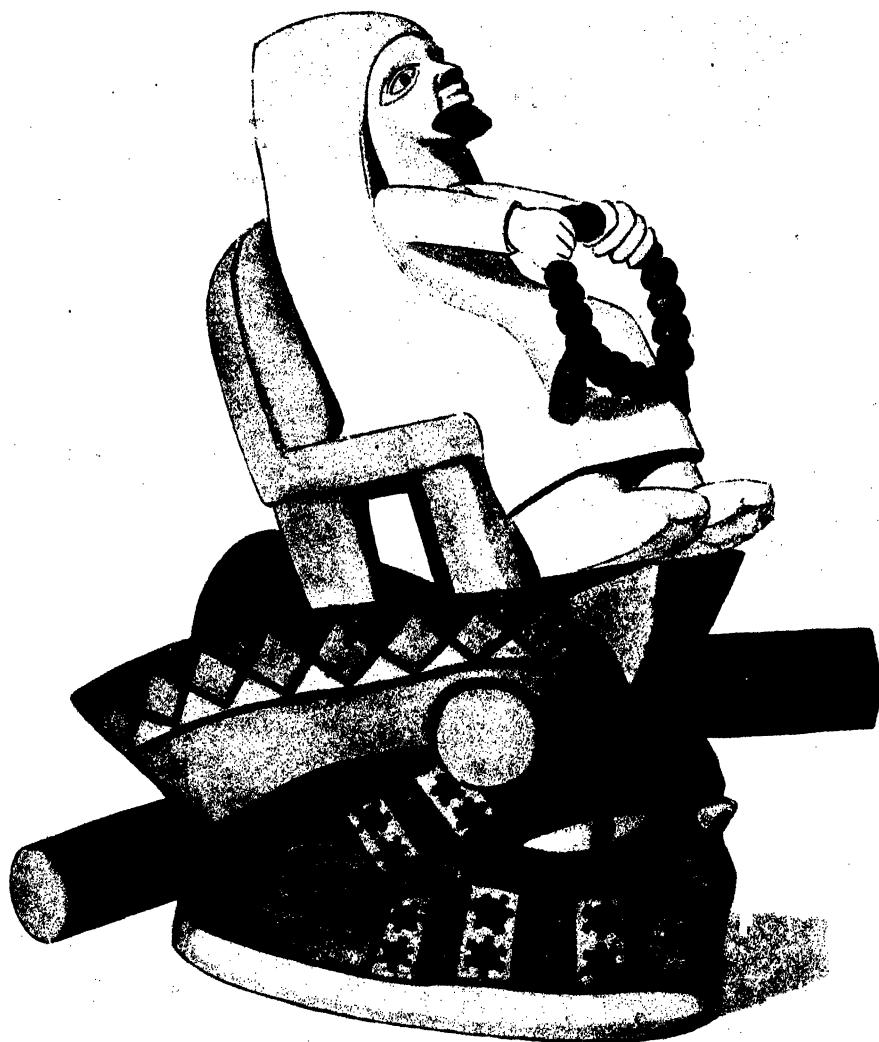


FIG. 144

Through a vertical slit in his long black cassock hangs a consecrated medal. The pupil is wearing a simple dark coat, light trousers, and dark shoes, and is, along with his spiritual teacher, set upon a platform decorated

with diagonal incised lines. In this pair of figures the black man's delight in satire seems to have allowed itself full freedom: we get the impression that our model boy and the saintly priest were equally unpopular with the Kenya Colony spectators.

Fig. 144, from the University of Zürich, is a splendid Dahomey specimen, a dance-mask of unusual form with a superstructure; only a few of these exist among the predominating flat face-masks. There are, of course, a few negro heads surmounted with animal forms, but no other model provides such a thrilling synthesis of the Dahomey negro's conception of the universe, in which the ancient cult of the spirits of the Dead is so strongly blended with admiration for the messenger of the European God. The face, which forms the lower portion, is painted with olive-green, yellow, orange, and grey; the white eyes have black pupils. Vertical strips, with a pattern of ornamental dots, decorate the brow, the cheeks, and the chin, which is strongly modelled. The head is covered with a kind of coif, ornamented with similar colourings along the edge, and above the head rises a European chair painted a yellowish pink. In the chair is seated a monk, with white face, white cowl and cape, and white shoes, holding in both hands a rosary of prodigiously exaggerated beads. This rosary, and the short 'Egyptian' beard, are painted dark grey, two nostrils are similarly shaded, and the pupils black. Everything else about the man is white. The arms protrude in a strange manner from the front of the cape. The monk is leaning back and gazing upward with a stiff hypnotized expression. His face is intensely serious, in prayer. If we imagine this mask on the head of a native striding about in the moonlight, in his trance, swaying in sacred rhythmical movements to the accompaniment of drums, this model from Dahomey will awaken in us the whole impressive labyrinth of primeval superstition blended with European religion, which has entangled the souls of others as well as those of Africa's native tribes, and which has found in this mask such a convincing method of expression.

For the negro is a creature of contrasts: he will leap from tragedy to sudden and grotesque comedy, from devil to clown, from the priest in majestic prayer to the travelling missionary walking about in his ridiculous cloak, as in a nightshirt (Fig. 145). This illustration (Ethnological Museum, Munich) has been taken from a West African elephant-tusk, which is strewn with exceedingly life-like and original representations of the European and of native life in West Africa. In one of the sections of the tusk, which are carved in spiral form one above the other, we come upon

this missionary with the enormous topee on his head, looking as though he were searching for a pin on the ground. His hair is carefully displayed, and the pointed beard lends the face a poignantly commonplace touch. His legs we cannot see, for his cloak, which is supplied with buttons and decorated with lines of stitching, reaches to his feet. But though neither legs nor feet are visible, we again remark the familiar preference for over-short legs. The long arm ends in a hand that seems rather boneless. This is one of the most amusing pictures of a missionary that West Africa has furnished. Its main charm lies in the completely serious face of the scholar-priest, who is inwardly, it would seem, unemancipated.

Whether the figure of the European missionary had already appeared in the golden age of Benin civilization has not been determined, but the attempt to interpret Fig. 146 (Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum, Cologne), which is a section of an elephant's tusk, as a bishop, seems to me risky. The staff in his hand is no crozier; yet the hat he wears has a European touch. What is most important, however, is that this man is wearing round his neck a very interesting decoration, the Portuguese Order of Christ, founded in 1318, which Benin art, in ignorance of the eight-point cross suspended from a crown, represents as a simple Christian cross.

We find this same cross on the neck of the man in Fig. 147 (Prehistorical Museum, Weimar), and in the foremost figure of the central section of a standing ivory cup, Fig. 148 (Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh). The Baden National Museum, Karlsruhe, also possesses what appears to be a very old example of this motif on an elephant-tusk, and Ling Roth publishes another illustration which strikingly resembles, in all its emblems, that shown in Fig. 146, and the specimen in Karlsruhe. This Order of Christ, however, does not appear exclusively among Europeans, but frequently in Benin native pictures as well.



FIG. 146

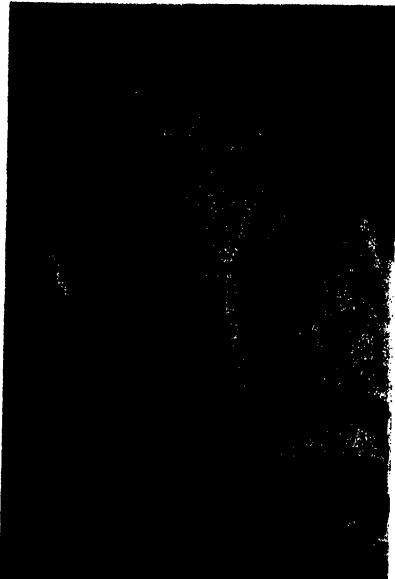


FIG. 145

But a bishop crowns the carved boar's tusk, Fig. 149, from West Equatorial Africa (Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh). Amid a variety of themes, completely worldly in their scope (a hairdresser at work, a bargain over a barrel, two natives in conversation), the view of this prominent spiritual dignitary is doubly surprising. For the Bishop, with his strongly negroid features, is represented in full canonicals, with the cross on his breast, as a bust at the tapering end of the carving. Nothing can be seen of him but the bare head, with its dark hair, the wide-open eyes beneath the dark brows, and the decorated robes with the cross, under which the hands are concealed, perhaps in prayer. It would seem as though the Bishop had remained only a short time with the tribe concerned, on a visit of inspection, and had assisted at divine service; and then the negro artist, impressed by his canonicals, had attempted to reproduce the picture. In doing so, his memory failed him when it came to the expression of the European face, but had perfectly retained the cross on the breast and the loveliness of the robes. It is quite possible, on the other hand, that the tusk was carved to commemorate the rare event of an ordination, or, if we take into consideration the pronounced negroid lines of the bust, the visit of a native bishop.

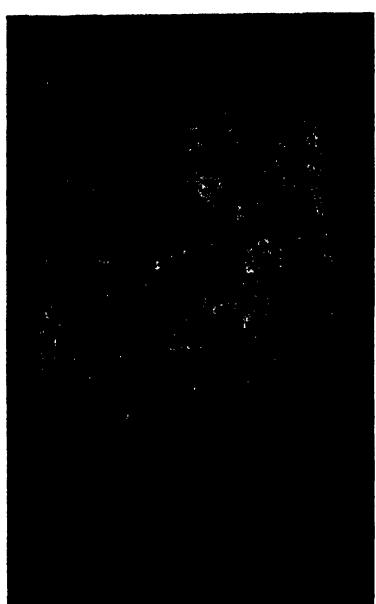


FIG. 147

But monks, missionaries, and high ecclesiastical dignitaries were not alone in the field. Female forms, in the shape of nuns, also made their way into the ranks of the Christian God's servants. In the hospitals erected by the white men the nuns exercised their charity, took pity upon the sick, and prayed with the dying. They were not regarded as white women, as feminine creatures of another colour and wearing a different costume, but, quite logically, as another variety of the priestly servants of God, who in their stead, in so far as their powers permitted them, were there to give help and dispense consolation. Notwithstanding, models of nuns are rare. One of the few we have, in typical negro style, is shown in Fig. 150 (Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia). This lady from Brazzaville

(French Congo) is simply unthinkable without her open prayer book, from which she has presumably read aloud to numerous learners, so that the book, under which the cross on her breast is prominent, is an indispensable part of this earnest woman with the uncommunicative face. Her simple black dress, with her rosary of penance-beads at her side, is severely plain



FIG. 148

except for the cross. Against the dark sleeves, with their white cuffs, the fine cultured hands holding the book stand out sharply. The face seems completely concentrated on the matter of the book, and is surrounded by a plain dark coif. No feet or shoes are to be seen. A small space separates the hem of the dress from the round notched base.

Where the missionary, the nun, and the bishop produce an impression, a humbler minister of God, the server, is also not far away—Fig. 151 (Lisbon Geographical Society). He is only a child, perhaps even a native child, but his office is important, and he himself is indispensable. He rings the bell, when the priest hastens with the sacrament to a dying man, he is allowed to assist in the service of the altar, and possibly the

vessels he holds in his hands are vessels from the altar. He has a wideawake face, like the sentry in Fig. 37, and seems to be both capable and eager. His costume with its white jacket, its striped skirt, apparently adorned with tassels, and his bare feet, produces a neat and realistic effect. He comes from Cabinda.

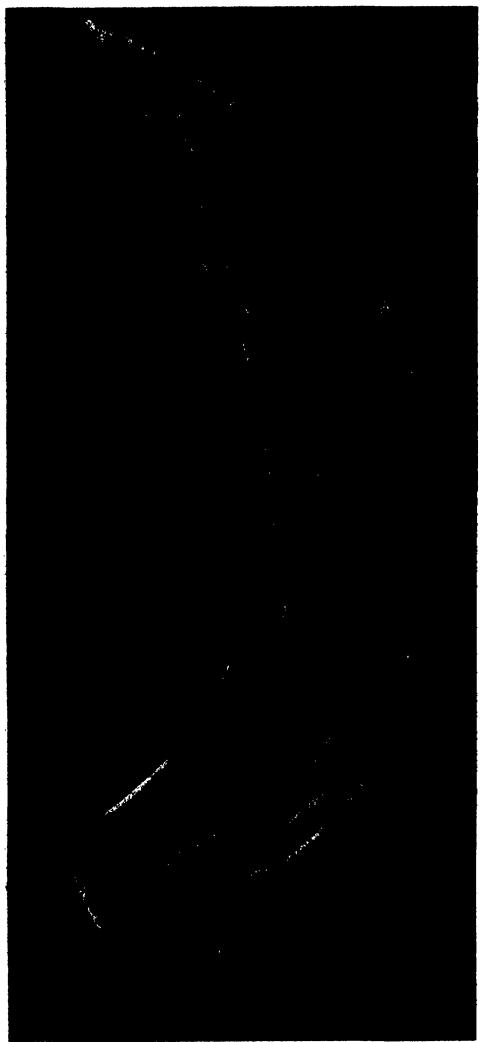


FIG. 149

All these African models are distinguished by strong individual differences of characterization and general conception. We constantly feel, as we look at them, that we are meeting an individual human being, not merely another class, or some professional man reasonably distinguished by his garb. Wisdom and severity, sternness or roguery—everything is expressed in the faces of such men. But the representations of Europeans which we have from the South Seas are at times essentially cooler, less personal, and more supernatural in their effect.

In the case of Fig. 152, from Nissan in the Solomon Islands (Ethnological Museum, Hamburg), it is possible that the commonly used light bark and sponge material is to blame for this effect, and so is the business of adjusting the missionary's face to a flat mask; the only plastic element is the hat. Although this portrait is employed as a mask in native dances, the face shows re-

markable reality, and in this case quite individual traits. The eyes, with their modelled brows, have a clever sharp expression, the pouches under the eyes are specially emphasized by attaching dark plant-fibre. The mouth, which is open as though to shout, and supplied with a small moustache,

has also been fixed on, and the whole of the face and long skull is surrounded with a vegetable fringe added to the face and extending under the hat. This may be in exaggeration of a beard existing in the original, or it may be suggested by native masks. Behind this appear the small, long, rounded ears. The shape of the hat, in particular, which is frequently very rigid in appearance, seems here to remind us of the soft clerical hat. What kind of magic proceeded from this mask, which was used in dancing, it is hard to discover, but here again the ancient sacred and pagan components of the dance-mask seem to obtain

a greater potency by the use of a portrait of the new white God's priest.

The curious pictures of missionaries produced by the Indians show less character than those we know from West Africa and lack the demonic atmosphere of the South Sea productions. There is a drawing of a missionary from Toba in South America, which represents a man with hat and walking-stick, and corresponds so little to the special properties of a missionary, that we must here rely on the data supplied by the explorer (Krieg), who was on the spot when it was produced.

Fig. 153 again is not easy to recognize as a missionary (Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Mass.). It is probably a piece of Cuna-work from San Blas in Panama. Like other work

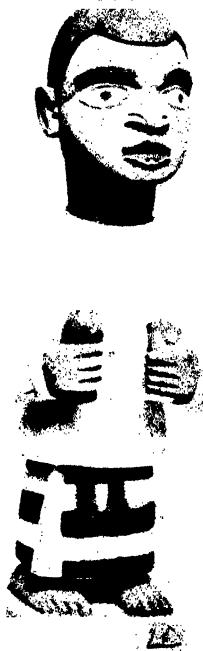


FIG. 151



FIG. 150

by the same Indians, the figure is rather roughly carved in wood (the original square block is still exactly distinguishable in the whole of the upper part of the body) and it shows us no details at all of the man's spiritual calling, no elaboration of a priest's clothing, no cross, and none



FIG. 152

of the other essential characteristics of a missionary. The small symmetrical commonplace features under the tall hat show neither goodness nor wisdom, and might just as well stand for the features of a peasant, a soldier, or a trader, as those of a missionary. The treatment of the hands and feet is extremely rough.

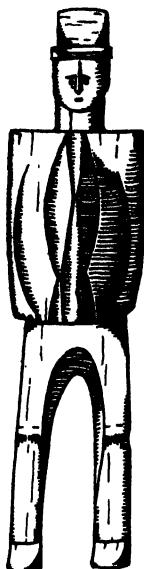


FIG. 153

Fig. 154, also from San Blas (British Museum, London), has more essential differences. It is the fairly recent figure of a missionary whose coat is painted blue, and furnishes some indications of clerical attire. The right hand seems to be lifted in exhortation, the left arm hangs straight down. The legs are simply represented, but very much more naturally than in Fig. 153, and the face, with its long hair under the hat, shows simple, but none the less earnest and dignified lines. The long straight nose takes up so much room, that there was no space left for a mouth. This peculiarity of Cuna art has already been mentioned.

Thus the figure of the Christian Missionary, the Soldier of God, in his long priestly robe, moves with dignity through the oldest and the newest regions, to bring to men, wherever men are to be found, the joys of Paradise, and the saving grace of God. Wherever missionaries went, their pupils sought to imitate them. Tribes with more developed ideas have succeeded in doing so

better than other tribes who were, maybe, steeped in the magic of animistic and totemistic ideas, and whose mentality was as yet by no means ripe for the ethical problems which the missionary endeavoured to bring them. Consequently this chapter contains no examples of the lovely slate-carvings of the North-West American Indians, and of the bone-engravings of the Eskimo. In the same way, we search in vain for missionaries on the bamboo-poles of New Caledonia. It is possible that such material exists but has escaped my observation; it is also possible that in the case of these tribes the influence of the missionary did not take deep enough root in the native heart; it may even be that no one properly understood what the saintly man really wanted. This was actually the case in many regions of West Africa, despite the masterly portraits of missionary and monk. The blacks were quite willing to come to the mission-schools, to receive clothing, to learn the elements of arithmetic and reading, and to be well-behaved and respectable pupils of the missionaries; but after that

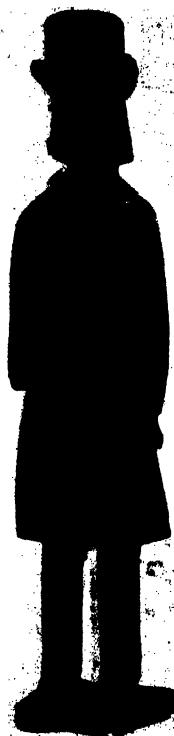


FIG. 154

they went contentedly back into the bush, to live half-naked and in savagery, exactly as they had done before, divesting themselves of all they had learnt as though it had never been offered them. This may have produced carvings we find in which the copyists have added the emblems of the Christian pioneer to the figure of the ancient pagan god, the result being that all feelings which had no true focus were submitted to a mixture of these religious elements.

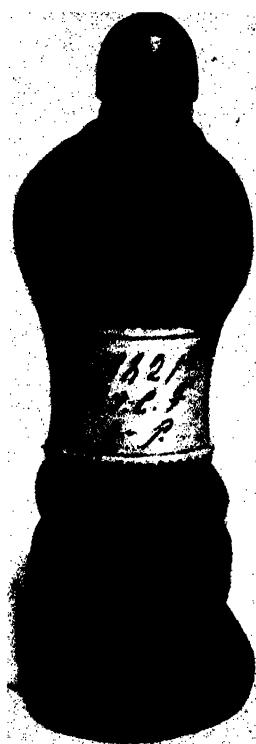


FIG. 155

But if the pupils remained in the mission-schools, if the white messengers of the faith were able to keep them under continual supervision and, especially from their earliest childhood, familiarize them with the whole world of Christian experience, and to deepen its impressions, master-pieces of art became possible, born amid conscious Christian belief; and in these the old elements of primitive magic in the black man's mind emerged, but only in such hidden ways that though the white man recognized them, the negro artist himself was no longer conscious of them at all. The more deeply the Christian faith took root in his heart, the further did the mortal phenomenon of the missionary withdraw, to make room for the images of the faith itself, the Catholic Saint, the Madonna, and finally the Saviour in person.

Fig. 155 (Lisbon Geographical Society) comes from Angola; the conventional pillar-form of the lower body is completely true to the traditional plastic conception. The upper portion of the figure shows us that we are no longer concerned with a missionary; the figure of a saint had, by

this time, become so vivid a conception that the artist did not hesitate to shape him in earthenware. The material and style abide by the old forms, but the praying hands and the spiritual expression of the face are purely Christian elements. A high round brow arches the lowered eyes, the mouth is open in a murmured prayer, but the folded hands are not quite successful. Here we have a figure full of primitive feeling, and the compelling desire to comprehend this new thing with all one's being. We can very well imagine that the missionary, rejoiced by this



FIG. 157



FIG. 156



FIG. 158

result of his efforts, did not hesitate to find room for this small figure in his church.

In the above case we had no details of the Saint thus modelled, but in Fig. 156 (Lisbon Geographical Society), which is also a specimen of Angola work, we have an absolutely definite individual before us. The original data maintain that we are dealing with St. Antony, and one of the emblems of St. Antony of Padua actually is the Christ child. But it is also possible that we have here a model of St. Christopher holding his staff, indicated in his right hand, and the Christ child on his arm, to guide him safely over the water. His face wears an expression of humble simplicity, and his cowl, with cape and girdle, are copied from life. These elements have a purely Christian effect, but the Child on his arm is altogether non-European, and

even the way it is held is strongly reminiscent of African habits. Sir Harry Hamilton Johnston publishes a very similar figure of St. Christopher, estimating it to be at least 200 years old, from the region of the Congo Falls, and refers to similar statuettes among the Kioko and Bashilange.

Finally, the Madonna appears, fashioned by a reverent hand. The fact that, despite the very active missionary work in all quarters of the globe, we possess so few reproductions of her, may be traceable to a timidity which prevented work upon this subject, but far more probably to the determination of the missionaries to accept only such models of her as were, in the Christian sense, worthy of the theme. Undoubtedly, many older works of art, in which the interesting blend of primeval magic with Christian ideas appeared, have been destroyed or suppressed by missionaries—and this, from the ethnological point of view, we must deplore. The sex of the Madonna may also have had a constraining effect.

However that may be, Fig. 157 (Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum, Cologne) shows us an example from Angola which adheres so traditionally to the conventional plaster-casts of popular European Catholicism, that it might stand equally well in a Tyrol peasant's parlour or in a Spanish 'saints'-corner'. Undoubtedly this image was worked from a European prototype; the wooden statuette definitely recalls the style of the gaily-coloured plaster Madonnas. The delicate face, the parted hair, the humble inclination of the head, the folded hands, the kerchief, and the long tunic over the robe, are too traditional for us to marvel at them as the original achievements of a primitive tribe.

The same is true of another African Madonna (Fig. 158) (Ethnological Museum, Hamburg), which is quite obviously an imitation of a European statuette. Nouffer points out the European conception we observe in the downward gaze upon the child in the lap, which is not African habit, while he also speaks of the 'Madonna-motif in negro setting'. The Madonna is feeding her child with a banana, but the clothing of both figures corresponds absolutely with the missionary ideal of complete covering. There are no unclad portions of the body visible. Yet for all that the Child, in European clothes, is bending its head as if drinking at the Mother's breast concealed under the robe.

We find the exact opposite of this derived art in Fig. 159, quite one of the most remarkable pieces that can be found in any Ethnological Museum (Auckland Museum and Institute, Auckland, New Zealand). This Maori carving is so different from all reproductions of the Madonna in any age, and

so original in the whole configuration, that it is beyond any doubt the result of a completely primitive creative impulse with Christian inspiration. The Madonna is holding the Child on her left arm. Both figures are completely covered with typical Maori spiral-ornamentation. The Madonna's face is in no way depicted as feminine, nor is her naked body; it resembles the old plastically decorated skulls in the spirit-houses, or the ancestral figures on carved door-jambs. The eyes of the Madonna and the Child are formed of mussel-shell. The Child seems to have its left hand in its wide-opened mouth and is perhaps wailing. The three long fingers, with clearly distinguishable nails, which the Madonna is stretching towards the Child, are specially typical of Maori art. Her legs broaden from the knee into flat forms, in which no feet of any kind are indicated. The history of this figure throws a characteristic light on the problems of the mission, for this picture of the Madonna was carved expressly for use in a Catholic Church. The priest in charge, however, declined it on the ground that it was unclothed and, therefore, unsuitable for church purposes—and the specimen finally reached the Auckland Museum. A serious question is here raised as to how far a priest should make concession to the mentality of his newly-baptized converts: to the ethnologist it does not appear wise when treating such cases to apply too stern a white man's standard; it may jeopardize the popularity of the new gods.

Primitive tribal art has also ventured to portray the final mystery of the Christian religion, the Crucifixion itself. Fig. 160 (Chamberlain) represents Christ on the cross as the 'Shaman of the White Men', just as the pictorial art of the Kootenai Indians from South East British Columbia imagined Him. The title 'Shaman' leads us to suppose that the artist who produced this picture regarded the Christian faith from the spectator's standpoint, and was himself a heathen. But he has undoubtedly seen Christian pictures, and is quite clear about the meaning



FIG. 159.

of Christian Symbolism. In the treatment of hair, beard, and expression, the drawing bears a close resemblance to the European conception, and the extended arms, as well as the inclined head, point, even without the presence of a cross, to the scene of Golgotha. In the right hand this primitive Christ carries the consecrated wafer, in the other hand a chalice.



FIG. 160



FIG. 161

From the Congo comes Fig. 161 (Johnston), a representation of Christ which is some 300 years old. This Crucifixion, to the European eye, may seem a considerably finer work, but for all that it has been used in San Salvador as a magic fetish. As here again we find the traditional forms of hair, beard, and face, while the crossing of the feet has been most carefully observed, we must conclude that we have a copy of a European original. Above and on either side of the head the cross itself is visible, but the cross-piece is so high and so short that no space is left for the arms of the suffering Saviour. These are, therefore, bound with a stout rope, which also fastens the feet. This rope ends upwards in a knot upon the neck, but we cannot

discern in the picture how the Saviour is fastened to the cross. The rope would have strangled Him and we should have had quite a different position of the body. No nails are visible. The gripping agony of the worn-out, suspended form, stretched on the cross, which has been caught by the greatest European masters with such extreme realism, has not been portrayed in this work; the features are peaceful as in sleep; the body seems in repose. All the same it is a very rare and lovely example of the magic power, which, to the native mind, proceeded from the idea of the divine sufferer of Nazareth, and though the savage may not have rightly comprehended the Crucified and His doctrine, the whole picture breathes reverence for His person.

The most beautiful example of native reproductions of the Crucifixion with which I am familiar is Fig. 162 (State Ethnological Museum, Berlin), an old ivory carving from Punta Negra near Loango. Here the Crucified has been so harmonized with the artist's world of experience that he has fashioned Him with the intuition of a creative master, governed by the artistic traditions of his people, which in him were strong. 'Christ, the Saviour of the heathen', stands over many a mission-house, and here Christ would actually seem to have appeared to a poor and deeply earnest negro as his Saviour in dire need. For him Christ was no foreign white God, no 'white man's Shaman', no magic fetish, confused with other primitive symbols; for him He was revelation, and His passion was the apotheosis of His teaching of love. Consequently the artist did not think it right to represent Him as a white man, as a member of the same race that had brought into Africa rifles and commands, disease and alcohol. For him He was the Saviour, who came for all men, both black and white. To him personally He had come as a black man, and therefore he portrayed Him as a black man, to testify how near He was to his heart; and the Apostles kneeling before Him are, of course, also black, touching the hem of His



FIG. 162

garment with timid hand, and gazing up to him with eyes full of compassion, proud love, and religious inspiration. There is no cross to be seen, but, though it is not depicted, it is there. The outstretched arms show the wounds of invisible nails, the feet are crossed, and the eyes already dim. One concession, but the only one, to the European point of view is the beard. The exceptional modelling of the body, the delicate hands, the whole form of presentation, which, despite the conventional figures, is true to life and profoundly conceived, have made of this carving a masterpiece, in which tremendous religious feeling and tremendous religious power are combined with singular emotional beauty. If genuine feeling, comprehension of a situation, and masterly technique are sufficient to produce a work of lofty dignity, this creation of an unknown savage has no less a claim to take its place in the Uffizi Galleries of Florence, or the churches of Venice, as a masterpiece of religious beauty, than have the works of other artists whose names are radiant down the centuries.

Chapter VIII

THE WHITE MERCHANT

THE more European interest was awakened by the conquest of distant continents, the more intensive became the interest of another variety of white man in the countries which produced ebony, ivory, gold, valuable skins, and spices. The merchant made his appearance. Before him had come the missionary in quest of souls, the dauntless man of God, whom no difficulties could intimidate. His coming had put an end to Europe's earlier trade in souls, her bartering of living beings; for the slave-dealer, more particularly in Africa, had become prominent immediately after the arrival of the soldiers. Adventurers and presumptuous rogues had learnt how to mint money out of the chieftains' greed for European goods, and out of their omnipotence over the members of their tribes, by offering them the coveted possessions of civilization, above all alcohol and arms, in exchange for human beings. This cheap labour was shipped to Arabian and American plantation-owners. Only two men profited by the traffic, the unscrupulous European and the artful chieftain. Complete trading-companies were set up to carry on this barter and, though many negroes died during the long voyage on the slow and space-cramped vessels, the commerce proved a remarkable investment.

The situation was immediately changed when the appearance of the missionaries enforced recognition of the fact that the coloured man, too, was a creature with an immortal soul, and the laws of Europe completely barred such traffic. Even then, in many cases, the trade continued, in defiance of law, but its heyday was over, and the honourable merchant, the man who bartered wares for wares, but living wares no longer, made his entry.

But, of course, we do not mean thereby that this man paid for the products of colonial countries in a currency which corresponded to European and American values. At a time when Nuremberg bankers were paying for nutmegs their weight in gold, they must have been originally sold to the merchant at a price which assured him a stupendous profit. Otherwise he would never have undertaken the dangerous voyage in his antiquated vessel. But these strange treasures lured him; he hoped, like Sindbad, to take them home, and he earned colossal sums by doing so.

The chapter dealing with the merchant and the native is, in the majority of even the most modern cases, very sorrowful reading. We need only think of the bondage of debt in which numerous South American Indians are kept throughout their lives by the owners of rubber-planations; these people have to work till they have cleared off their 'debts', that is practically until they die.

Antonio and Shylock are eternal types, and not every merchant, alas, is of 'royal' mint. This is especially true when we are concerned with primitive tribal territories filled with rich treasures, and with men who, in arithmetic, are guileless. Small wonder then that most natives felt that the European merchant deserved their loathing, and that they only reproduced him in their art when he was a historical occurrence in tribal life—as for example in the Cheyenne drawing owned by the Ethnological Museum, Leipzig, which shows the arrival of a merchant in the camp—or in order to mock, bewitch, or render him ridiculous. The only representations of merchants known to me which have a more objective motive are from the North-West American Indians, and from West Africa; works of a more advanced culture, such as the statue of Marco Polo in the Temple of the Five Hundred Spirits in Canton, belong to another sphere of thought.

The soldier and the priest were easily distinguishable from the mass of Europeans by their costumes and emblems. How comes it then that among the numerous figures of individuals, appearing only in ordinary clothes or hat, we can, without the least difficulty, select the merchant? Obviously we base our selection on the unusually harsh execution of the face bestowed by the primitive artist upon this representative of Europe. The man who wanted to purchase raw materials, skins, spices, precious stones, timbers, and gold in their country, most certainly found no great sympathy among them, and in their thirst for revenge they explored the calculative, petty, hideous, and treacherous traits in his face, and shaped them so exactly that, from among dozens of figures on an ivory tusk, we can at once point to some definite small detail and by it recognize the merchant.

Not all native tribes have put such malevolence into their art as have the Kaniets from the Hermit Islands of the Bismarck Archipelago, Figs. 163 and 164 (Linden Museum, Stuttgart), who hoped to deal a deadly blow at the foreign white man (Fig. 58) by their sympathetic magic. The creators of these figures were exploited contractors and swindled buyers, who decided, in their guileless, inexperienced way, to produce a ghastly memorial of the shrewd villain who had tricked them. Both these figures were beyond

a doubt central images in magic rites, by which the spirits were entreated to punish the evil trader, whose inroads had perhaps attacked their family life, by hideous enlargement of his limbs. Scarcely any attention has been paid to arms, hands, feet, or legs; their whole effort was concentrated on the sexual organs, which are afflicted with elephantiasis, and on the heads, which bespeak exceptional suffering and disease. If Fig. 163 by beard and hat can at least be recognized as a European, Fig. 164 is as certainly demonic, and resembles an ugly bald-headed Gothic Devil, with ears standing out like handles from his head, and a weak sinister laugh round his mouth.

Such was the way in which the inhabitants of the South Seas defended themselves against the merchant vampires that oppressed them; they produced these images to represent the deformity desired by their magic.

The Greenland Eskimo, Fig. 165 (Stolberg Collection, Nordhausen), also wished to take vengeance on the trader who exploited him. As he was able to write, he used words, and emphasized his words by depicting a complete scene. The hunter, Jacob Danielson, has shown a Danish dealer (left) and a native (right), below which he has written in his own language: "niuvirtuk inugellu kamagdlulik okalūpa," where 'niuvirtuk' means merchant, 'kamagdlulik' means to impose upon, and the whole sentence means: "The native has a stern talk to the trading-clerk who wants to impose on him." An interesting document this. The Danish dealer stands there broad-shouldered and arrogant, well-wrapped in an expensive fur and hood, while the native, in his simple cap, after undertaking all the difficulties and dangers of trapping, and getting only a pittance for his work, boils over at last and tells the white man how he really feels about things. At the end of the argument, however, he will still be the underdog, for he has to earn his living. Both his hands are clenched, but the merchant seems to



FIG. 164



FIG. 163

be threatening him. This drawing is very carefully executed, houses and landscape are European in atmosphere, and in particular the ground-contours are well modelled and shaded.

The American brother of this Danish merchant (Fig. 166) has been portrayed by the Oregon Indians as of seemingly much colder blood

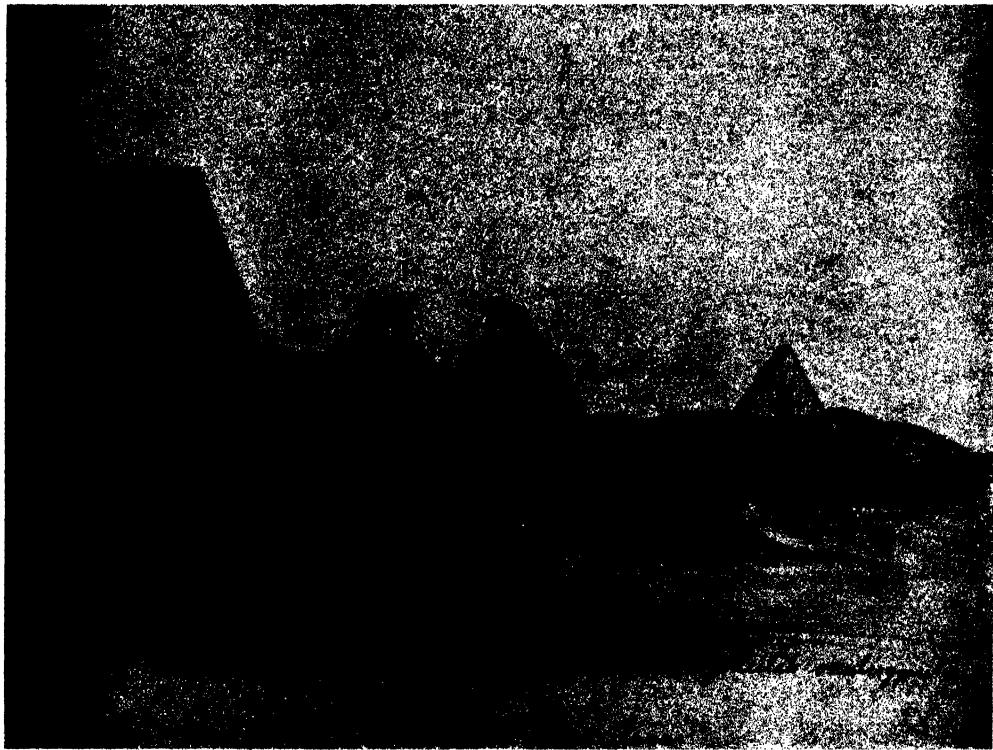


FIG. 165

(National Museum, Copenhagen). The face, which is made of ivory, has been superimposed on the slate figure, which is carved in the usual style. But if we look more closely, we shall not find in these finely-drawn features any of the sympathetic expression we found in Captain Wilkes (Fig. 62), or the jovial temper of the Russian soldier (Fig. 27). The face before us is cold and calculating. The wide-open eyes and small, rather pinched mouth show that this man is thinking of his own advantage before anything else. His costume, with fur cap, fur collar, and long coat, his striped waistcoat, trousers fastened with large buttons, and stout shoes, are evidence of

prosperity. The symmetrical position of the arms, and the fingers in the trousers pockets, heighten the impression of self-assurance which this trader gives us.

In Fig. 167, again (Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh), the artist has fathomed the mentality of a white merchant and drawn him to life. This pipe-head of wood and bone from Puget Sound is supposed, according to the original details, to "present white traders on a steam packet". But anyone who examines the pictures will more probably take it for the carriage of a merchant on his rounds with his goods, even though the mussel-shaped contrivance on the left below the tobacco-bowl seems to represent the paddle-wheel of a steamer. On the front curved portion which is decorated with a leaf ornament stands a bird resembling an eagle, gazing stiffly ahead. Behind the eagle comes, after the bowl itself, the procession of the three Europeans, one of whom is seated astride a horse, while the two others emerge, in front and behind, from the cabin (but has a cabin wheels?), or the carriage. The pose of the rider is extraordinary. With his right hand he is holding on tight to the head of his steed, and is actually standing on it rather than seated. The expression on his face is just as realistic as the forms around him are whimsical. His eye is sharp and suspicious, and the whole facial expression and attitude betoken a tense, artful, and calculating man, capable of weighing his odds with absolute exactness, and an expert in deciding which spots will prove commercially most profitable. The left



FIG. 166



FIG. 167

arm, with the hand resting on the hip, resembles a U-piece of tubing, below which the coat-tail protrudes stiffly. The front figure, emerging from the conveyance, is resting both his hands horizontally on the rump of the animal, which thus both carries him and draws the vehicle. The merchant's other assistant is nothing but a modelled head.

African figures of the white merchant show just as plainly that the



FIG. 168

negro artist recognized the human weaknesses and peculiarities of his visitor. Here we meet the merchant's Holy of Holies, his account-book (Fig. 168) (Lisbon Geographical Society). He holds it in his right hand, whilst his bent left hand guides some enormous writing-instrument, possibly a pencil. The huge eyes are fixed rigidly on the book, and the small contracted mouth shows absorption in this business of life and death. The head, which is covered with a round cap, is supported by a long stout neck. The clothes, which end in a round collar at the neck, and the shoes are very roughly indicated; the hands are gigantic, and the central points were certainly the account-book and the writing instrument, which must have impressed the artist deeply.

Occasionally in these illustrations of merchants two professional types are distinctly recognizable: the travelling trader and the factory-owner. Fig. 169, which forms part of a West African elephant-tusk, seems to belong to the latter type (Umlauff Collection, Hamburg). It shows the merchant in his hours of leisure. He may have had a great deal of work during the day,

worn himself out over his tricks of persuasion and salesmanship, and now, in the evening, perhaps in conversation with a black friend, he is enjoying his rest. He is seated on a chair. His right hand is holding a beer-glass, whilst his left is holding a pipe in his mouth. His forehead, which is naturally high and round, ends in a bald patch, which doubtless was, for the negroes, a most unusual characteristic. What hair he has left is combed slanting towards the neck. He has a beard, side-whiskers, and a small moustache. The open eye, seen in profile, has an anxious and thoughtful expression; perhaps the day has not been quite as satisfactory as the merchant hoped, but he is now just having a rest, to consider how to make a better beginning to-morrow. His coat shows a collar and cuffs, and on his crossed legs he is wearing smooth trousers. His shoes, which have heels, are plainly visible. The travelling merchant endeavours to have as pleasant a time as possible amid his exertions. In hot climates he avoids, as much as possible, every kind of bodily effort, and, along the ancient forest paths, where he cannot ride or motor, has himself carried in a hammock by two blacks.

Such a scene is shown in Fig. 170 (Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum, Cologne), by an unknown artist from Lagos on the Guinea Coast. The illustration is a section of a specially well-carved elephant-tusk showing the white merchant in his hammock, which two natives are carrying slung from a pole. Is he still calculating, despite the restful position of his body? For his face is not peaceful, but extremely wideawake. The open eyes, and tense lips, suggest that rows of figures are passing through his brain. His forehead is low, and covered with bristly hair. His folded hands are resting on his body, which does not give with the movement of the hammock, but lies completely horizontal. Below him walks his dog—probably a hound—with hanging ears, long stiff tail, and spotted marking.

Fig. 171, from Ikerre, Nigeria (British Museum, London), represents the travelling merchant again. The picture is part of a carved wooden door and lintel, and the merchant seems, in the upper section of the carving, to be riding on a mule, with two natives bearing his packs. In the lower section he is seated in a hammock carried on a pole by two blacks. It is amusing to compare the difference in the features of these three persons. The bearers, despite their load, are almost laughing, but the man in the litter, with his face turned to heaven, wears an air of near-martyrdom. He seems to be an ill-tempered grumbler, whom no one can please, and who, when he does actually pull a coin from his pocket, wants value for every cent. Just at present he is suffering from the heat, or from his uncomfortable

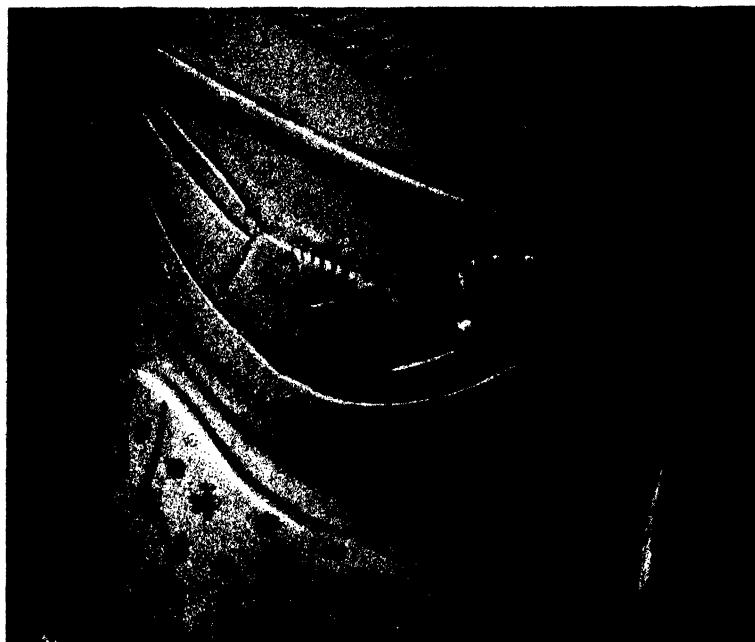


FIG. 170



position, or from the cheerful singing of his bearers, and nobody who sees him in this humour can cherish a wish to have to do business with the fellow. He is wearing a hat, and a costume of somewhat indistinct cut—but the whole of the emphasis in the picture concentrates upon the execution of his glum churlish face.

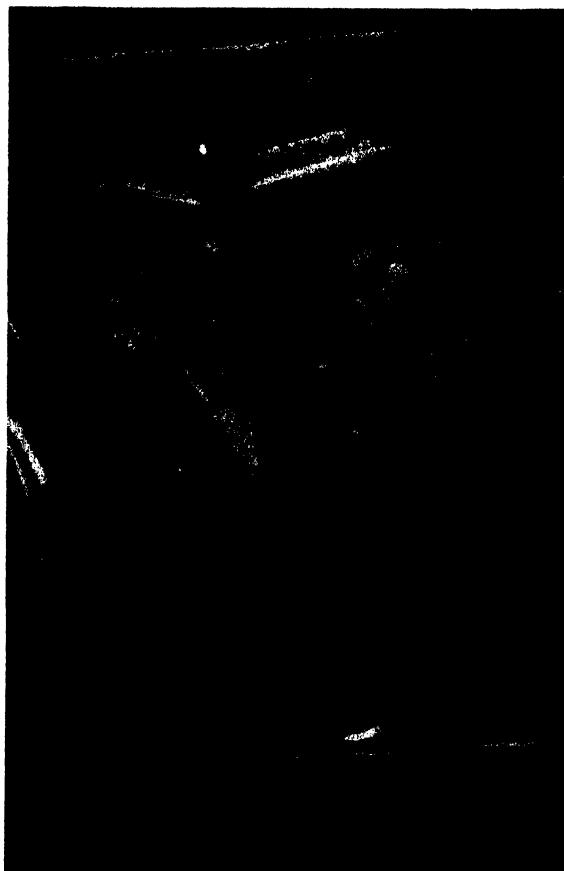


FIG. 172

The gentleman in Fig. 172, from West Africa (Ethnological Museum, Munich), does his business in quite another way. He is not afraid of any exertion, puts his shoulder to the wheel, and is an adept at capturing his clients by good-natured methods. This indefatigable business-man seems to be in consultation with his store-keeper, who has a big key in his right hand. This employee is clad in a kind of uniform, consisting of cap,

high-collared coat, and trousers, whilst his chief, in civil dress with check trousers and straw hat, has his hands in slovenly fashion in his pockets, and seems to be deep in some subtle speech, and to be giving orders.

Equally alert and active are the habits of the merchant in Fig. 173 (Lisbon Geographical Society). He comes from Cabinda, and shows us a typically Southern European pose. He is wearing a kind of fez, and apparently belongs to that group of business people who first of all invite the buyer to have a drink, and then in some canopied spot spread out their treasures unexpectedly and, with numerous asseverations, appeals to God, and solemn oaths, calculate the loss they will suffer in parting with this ridiculously cheap article.



FIG. 173

Benin has supplied the most complete illustration of the Portuguese trader. Here, on the bronze reliefs, he may be recognized, at the first glance, by the money-ring in his hand (Fig. 174) (Linden Museum, Stuttgart). These metal rings, which were introduced from Europe for purposes of barter, served in smaller types as ornaments, but the large heavy specimens were employed as currency and loaded with rich decoration. In many bronze reliefs we see portraits of merchants with this symbol in their hands, and sometimes, as in Fig. 175 (Ethnological Museum, Vienna), the background as well is covered with rings. Fig. 174, which at once indicates the European, by the shaven face and smooth hair, has a specially interesting expression; the clever reckoner, and deeply calculating mind, are brilliantly presented in the absorbed expression of the eyes and, above all, in the stroking of the beard.

Specimen Fig. 176 (National Museum, Copenhagen), from Lourenço Marquez, which came to Copenhagen about 1880, is a highly interesting carved ivory tusk, representing a complete synthesis of all the sorrows and feelings produced among the natives by the arrival of the European merchant. It is quite possible that slave-traffic was at this date still active on the coast, in a more or less clandestine way. For on the lowest of the spiral sections we meet a most arresting scene: natives with hair close-shorn, wearing the slave-halter, fastened by a heavy chain round their necks, the chain itself heavily padlocked on to the first slave's neck. Compare the expressions of these miserable sacrifices to the European



FIG. 174

commercial spirit with the cheerful serenity of the negroes in the middle section, who are carrying, on a pole, a wonderfully carved fish, to sell to the white merchant. The composition is masterly, both as a whole and in detail.

The lowest section is the negroes' pain, the white man's unvoiced sin; then comes the staider note of the middle scene, and in the upper, whether by coincidence or purpose is not clear, a peaceful idyll in the life of the merchant who has caused their torture.

He is seated, like the merchant in Fig. 169, on a chair, with his tobacco-pipe, a gentlemanly parting in his hair, and his dog at his feet, seemingly unaware of all the



FIG. 176

misery his lust for money has generated. This work of art is a silent witness, but more effective than all the documents that ever were composed against



FIG. 175

slavery, a convincing testimony of fact, which, in its dumb realism, becomes a colossal arraignment. Above, the trader taking his rest, in the middle the natives employed in his service, and below, in fetters, the

human goods, which bring the man above sufficient money to guarantee him an easy life to the end of his days.

Fig. 177 (Hessian National Museum, Darmstadt), a Chinese earthenware plastic of the Han era (206 B.C. to A.D. 220), is published here because it makes a useful comparison with the representation of the European merchant in the art of the primitive races, and because it is one of the most interesting documents in the history of civilization. The original data state the figure to be a Jew, giving no further indications. But the interpretation produces certain difficulties of identification, as there are several possibilities. Even at this early date, sometime after the exile in Babylon (597 and 586 to 537 B.C.), Jews and Jewish merchants may have come as far as China. At the time of the Han dynasty almost the whole of the Persian silk trade was in the hands of the Jews; so that it is altogether possible that Jewish merchants on their trading cruises reached China, and this model may actually represent one such Jew. Scholars, however, differ greatly as to the first appearance of the Jews in China. Such well-known sinologists as T. de Lacouperie, Cordier, and Jérôme Tobar, hold that the Jews migrated into China via Persia and Central Asia at the time of the Han dynasty in the first century after Christ. Laufer, who is strongly opposed to this opinion, attempts to prove, with considerable ingenuity, that the Jews came to China through India, and secondly that the presence of Jews on Chinese soil cannot be established previous to the ninth century A.D. According to Laufer, therefore, Chinese Jewry is even more recent than Mohammedanism in China. The lack of clarity about these historical events of course makes the interpretation of our specimen more difficult.

Further doubt as to whether we are dealing with a Jewish merchant is created by the racial characteristics. The man is more an Alpine than a Semitic type, especially round the nose and eyes; possibly we are looking at a Yüé-chi merchant. As a matter of fact, such an interpretation has much to recommend it. We know that the Emperor Wu-ti (140-86 B.C.) of the

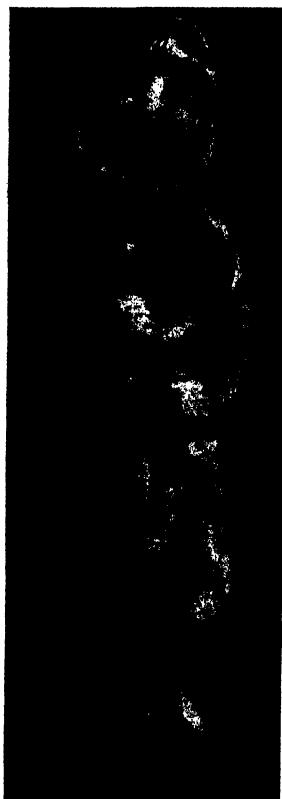


FIG. 177

Han dynasty entered into close relations with the ruler of Yüé-chi through his ambassador, Chang K'ién (Ssu-ma-Ch'ien; Brosset, Hirth). At the time of the adventurous embassy of Chang K'ién these peoples inhabited



FIG. 178

what is to-day Bokhara and Samarkand. In racial composition the Alpine type predominates among the Yüé-chi, and to this day in the Tarim Basin and the region of Pamir descendants of the Yüé-chi have preserved their racial characteristics in fairly pure form. Sir Aurel Stein thinks that these descendants of the Yüé-chi, if properly shaved and clad, might sit unnoticed

in any café in New York, London, or Marseilles, where they would be taken for Europeans, since racially they are in no way different. The question whether this figure really represents a Jewish or an European merchant must therefore remain open. It is certain, however, that it is neither Chinese nor Mongolian.

Apart from this incredibly early earthenware figure from the beginning of the Christian era, I know only one other painted earthenware plastic representing a white man. It is a Roman dancer (Cernuchi Museum, Paris), a work of the T'ang period (seventh to tenth century). Till now this has been regarded as the earliest representation of the white man in Chinese art. But the model we have been discussing is centuries older.

It was not until the Yüan dynasty, particularly under Kublai Khan, who adopted the imperial name of Yüan-Shi-tun (i.e. towards the end of the thirteenth century), that greater opportunity arose to create plastic figures of Europeans. It was then only that Germans and Frenchmen came to the Emperor's court, and Marco Polo, a Venetian merchant, was Councillor there. The statue of Marco Polo in Canton also goes back to this period. We have, therefore, before us a very rare, though contested, piece of work, and I should be grateful if connoisseurs of Chinese art could supply further information on the matter.

Of the many Chinese representations of European merchants, after the epoch of the great discoveries, we will show here Fig. 178 (National Museum, Copenhagen), a model of a Danish supercargo from Canton. The year of its production, much easier to establish among a highly civilized people than is the case with anonymous works of peoples without written history, is 1730. This man is seated self-assuredly upon a chair; he is crossing his rather thin legs, has politely removed his hat from his wig, has wedged it under his arm, and is deep in reflection. This is plain from the perpendicular line above the bridge of his nose, and the concentration of the eyes on a fixed point. Some contract is being completed and he is gathering all his mental powers before informing his partner of his decision upon the acceptance or refusal of the offer. He is wearing the dress of his day and standing, and has been copied realistically and to the life by the artist, even to the pleats of his shirt and the dimple in his chin.

Thus it was that the form of the European merchant, in ways very diverse, left its imprint in the native art of savages, and found its expression, too, in the plastic work of advanced civilization, with all the individual differences of the original as he appeared, whether as vampire, or common trader, as tyrant or travelled gentleman of the world.

Ch a p t e r IX

OFFICIAL, TEACHER, DOCTOR, JUDGE, EXPLORER

THE country was conquered. The soldier could retire into the background, and keep the rust off his rifle by hunting or drill. The peaceful activity of the missionaries began, and Europe sent out new apostles to guide into more tranquil paths the power acquired by conquest. Colonies required method, organization in the European sense, taxes, discipline, hygienic arrangements, and at least an elementary education of the native in matters of reading, writing, and arithmetic.

Hitherto the chief had been paramount power; he, or the Council of the Old Men, controlled the person, life, wives, and landed possessions of the tribe. In many forms of tribal life he had actually enjoyed divine honours. Those times were now past, and even where he was allowed to remain as ruler in authority, every member of his tribe was fully aware that the new sway of the white man superseded old conditions, and that in particular the right of life and death was no longer measured by customary standards, but was the prerogative of the white judge. Ancient and sacred usages that had defied missionary interference suddenly became criminal offences, when the white administrator set his new laws to work. Ideas about right and wrong, property, possession, and theft, were immediately and completely displaced, and transformed to suit the white man's way of thinking. In addition, there came payment of tribute, new currencies, and a host of revolutionary regulations that had to be obeyed, at the risk of jeopardizing personal life and liberty. Those were sore days; and they produced a superstitious fear of the wielder of the new power, a greater fear even than the soldier had inspired with his rifle. For the natives were unable to apply their logic to the principles involved in these regulations; all they could do was endeavour to assimilate at least the basic elements of the new form their life had assumed.

A man who brings a new world, and requires obedience, who has power to command the chief himself, is a man to be feared. Natives will beware of representing him in picture, of mocking his weaknesses, of exposing him in deformity to the vengeance of the gods. For the white Governor is

almighty, he will learn of it, and visit the offender with terrible vengeance. Consequently we can understand that very few plastic figures of white magistrates have come to light; most of our exhibits centre round the teacher, the most human figure; even the doctor, in whom the medicine-man found such a sinister rival, was only rarely modelled, and of the mightiest of all phenomena, the judge, we possess only one plastic. The Administrator was such an inaccessible figure that only especially jovial, good-natured, and, therefore, honoured representatives of his calling were portrayed in cases where the native artist knew he had no reprisals to fear.

Fig. 179 must have been such a man; and he supplied me with his own portrait from his private collection, exactly as a member of the Chandjo-tribe in Togoland produced it. The officer represented furnished me with the following interpretation of his portrait: "It is carved from one piece of wood. Height, 40 cm. Produced in 1911 by a man of the Chandjo-tribe near Sikodé (Togoland). The plastic supposes me to be sitting on a chair. Definite typical features have been well observed, e.g. the topee, shoulder-tabs, two top-coat buttons, collar below open, with a small tie, the chair on which I am sitting, and the glass in my hand; for Europeans get bearers to accompany them on every journey, and every time a halt is called a camp stool is put out, and some kind of drink, cooled with wet cloths, is fetched from the portable canteen. Whilst travelling, people usually drink cherry-juice and water. The chair is not a copy of our camp-stool, but of a chieftain's chair. I am represented with long trousers and bare feet. That is not right either. As a rule it was the interpreters who travelled so, and they were the most respected officials of the district. I, as a rule, wore riding-breeches and leather gaiters, and long trousers only at night. The stubby moustache is correct, but in other respects the face possesses negro characteristics, the sides of the nose in particular being reproduced from local prototypes." This description is tremendously interesting, showing as it does the undifferentiated



FIG. 179



FIG. 180

blending of the elements of traditional or familiar symbols of power (chieftain's chair, native official costume, anthropological properties) with new impressions (shoulder-tabs of officer and official, drink, topee, and tie). This makes it obvious that even in cases where a deliberate portrait had to be produced, its success depended entirely upon the artist's mentality—a European ruler might sit only upon a chieftain's chair, and a high official, despite other external signs, could only be thought of in the style of the native dignitaries.

Fig. 180 from Angola (Lisbon Geographical Society) has caught to perfection the arrogance and the boredom of a government official, a man who, at the conclusion of his daily round, is walking somewhat wrathfully amid his primitive surroundings and yearning, no doubt, for the Corso, the cafés, and the splendour of his homeland. This long-skulled gentleman, with smooth hair or cap, has lowered his eyes and seems to be heaving a sigh. His costume, consisting of coat, trousers, and rather clumsy shoes, has received but indifferent

treatment; it was his type, as expressed in his features, that was important. Some day he will get his release, and pack his trunks, to take a post at home and make room for a junior.

A much more intelligible figure was that of the European teacher, who came into the newly-built schools to instruct the natives and their children in the arts of ink and print. Like the missionary, he did his work kindly and soon became a popular phenomenon. His distinguishing feature is his book (Fig. 181) (Lisbon Geographical Society), which the artist of the Guinea Coast has placed in his hand. The teacher's mouth is adorned with a gigantic moustache, and the domed bald forehead, with its line of reflection at the base of the nose, marks his scholarship. His strongly-browed eyes are bent on his book, from which he is perhaps spelling a word. The way he is holding the book in his slim hands, his finely formed ear,

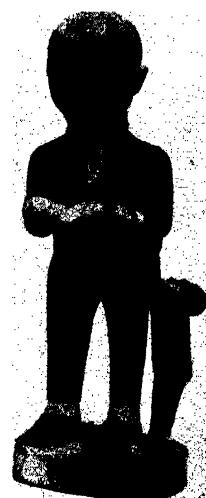


FIG. 181

and the whole movement of the composition, point to the technical skill of the artist. The simple costume is suggested in essential lines only, but we are bound to notice the European clothes worn by the black pupil. He seems to be anxious to share the reading of the mysterious book, and is trying to stretch up to pull the teacher's hands down, and share his wisdom with him. Excellent workmanship has been shown in dealing with the differential characteristics of race, the typical European head of the teacher, and the equally typical negro head of the black boy.

Teacher and pupil from British Columbia (*Oldman Catalogue*), Fig. 182, are carved in slate, and have unfortunately lost their ivory faces which, as we have seen in many instances, the Indians superimpose. We can, therefore, guess what is going on only from the attitude of the couple. This teacher, in his top hat, is a more dignified, and apparently a stricter gentleman than our friend in Fig. 181. He is sitting on a small European stool, and has gripped the wrists of the small pupil with the curious projecting coat-tails who is standing in front of him. Perhaps he is intending to punish him for a bad piece of work, or perhaps he wishes to give more express shape to his explanations, and has drawn him close up to pronounce some sentences that he is to learn by heart. The pupil is wearing a cap with a brim, and had we had a chance of seeing his face, the intense characterization which these Indians achieve would have allowed us to read his anxiety or his enthusiasm, and we should have been much clearer about the problem before us.

But the teacher has his private life as well. In his free time he likes walking through the village and, like the priest, gets into familiar contact with his pupils, the better to penetrate their mentality. Teachers of this type are popular, whereas the strict and inaccessible types are not. On the ivory tusk in the Umlauff Collection in Hamburg one such teacher is walking among West African natives, with a hat and stick; his left hand is in his pocket. His coat is so beautifully cut, and has such delightful buttons that the sculptor, though his picture is in profile, did not think it unsuitable



FIG. 182

to emphasize these rarities. From the hips down he is not dressed in trousers and shoes, but in a native skirt. His feet are bare, and his features a trifle negroid. The figure would seem to be of somewhat early date, before the native was sufficiently familiar with the details of European clothing to recognize them all correctly. His collar-facings, for example, have been noticed, but quite improperly shaped, his ear and hair are completely native, and only his side whiskers, hat, and facial expression are indications of the European.

In Fig. 183 (Lisbon Geographical Society) we have a more familiar



FIG. 183

figure, the teacher from Cabinda, who almost takes us back to our own school days; and what strikes us most about him is the correct reproduction of European clothing, and the distinction made between lapels, collar, and tie. It is a really beautiful portrait of a quite ordinary but intelligent man, with European walking-stick and hat. His face with wide-open eyes, his tiny moustache, and full mouth, point to narrow intellectual ability, which is compensated by his mastery of one special subject, which he has made his own, and in which any black pupil with a thirst for knowledge will find him thoroughly capable. On comparing his features with those of the Guinea Coast teacher in Fig. 181, we find the two prominent types in the teaching world, the intellectually inspired and the formal pedant, searchingly portrayed. It is the picture of a teacher such as we had in our own school days. This then was the native idea of the teacher.

Another member of the European administration, the doctor, probably found his worst foes in sorcery, tradition, and passive resistance. He worked without the mysticism of the medicine-man, in fact his work ran counter, and he had to renounce the factor which, in all native treatment, is of such paramount psychological importance, a blind belief in the success of his cure. His was a struggle, not against prejudice only, and hate, but against dirt and infection as well; it took the native a long time to recognize that he had come to render help, a long time to cease his habit of demanding money from the doctor in return for the patient's willingness to swallow his nasty-tasting medicine or put up with his painful knife. For a long time he was

not regarded as a helper at all. But afterwards he earned so much gratitude, in many cases for astounding cures of infection, diseases, and wounds, that it became natural to make as handsome a portrait of him as possible, and even to work a magic animal on to his cap.

This animal, Fig. 184 (Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum, Cologne), is peculiarly enough the snake, the reptile sacred to *Æsculapius*, and we are amazed at this coincidence. At the same time, we shall be wrong in imagining that we have here any Greek ideas, or migratory cultural elements, or a dualistic conception of the doctor. The thought behind this Dahomey figure is far more closely connected with the primeval worship of the snake, and the magic powers of this reptile which were transmitted to the expert in healing, for the snake is the helpful animal. The doctor is sitting at his prescription-desk, with ink-pot and sand-box, and is writing a prescription with his right hand. His eyes, which have been inserted, are made of mother of pearl. The doctor is distinguished by a huge mass of a nose, but we cannot tell whether this is an exaggeration of an original, or the artist's own idea. The European chair, the table and the articles upon it, the position of the hand in writing, and the seated posture of the body have been most successfully reproduced. One object belonging to the learned gentleman had undeniably impressed his observer deeply, the gold watch-chain with a bundle of pendants hanging from his pocket; perhaps the doctor had occasionally allowed satisfactory patients, after treatment, to handle these trinkets.

A figure associated neither with instruction nor with assistance is that of the judge. His is a threatening mien, and the less one has to do with him, the better. However, a negro from Portuguese West Africa (Fig. 185)



FIG. 184

(Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum, Cologne), who had looked into his inexorable eyes, could not rid himself of the impression received, and perhaps remained under the spell until he had completed the model. All the terror which he may have felt, on learning the verdict, has found its concentration in the heavily conventional form, which he has placed in rigid symmetry on the judge's bench. The expression of the eyes, which is not altogether human, was obtained by inserting pieces of glass. The mouth shows no trace of kindly impulse. Above the stony face is poised the topee. The enormous projecting ears hear everything, while the shoulders are exaggerated in breadth, and denote the power and efficiency of the jurist.



FIG. 185

Thus the native had become the subject, subject of a misunderstood and inexorable foreign power. The country was opened up, and the only man now missing was the man who had come to study it, and carry information about it to his white world. So we come to the explorer, whose intentions, of course, were not fathomed. But there was a sense of instability about his addition to the phenomena. He had no gentle influence on the soul as had the missionary, nor did he give orders like the soldier. He appeared for a time, lived with the natives as one of themselves, then vanished again. He loaded up the cases he had brought with him, was afraid of none of their old-world forest paths, carried peculiar apparatus, busied himself with animals and plants, wrote bulky diaries and put questions. Of his questions there was no end. In early days, when he

traversed the country as the pioneer of science, to establish the first important measurements and maps, the natives did not find much opportunity of getting or giving detailed explanations. But later came his slower-moving brother, to complete the task and deepen the lines of research. He employed bearers, took photographs, and wanted information about the simplest tools and belongings of daily life, as well as about native conceptions of God, and the life after death. He was a pseudo-companion of the coloured

men, lived with them, and paid them for their services. We know scarcely any specimens of intricate carvings of models in which he figures. His appearance was too fleeting for that. But it was he who, thanks to his interest in every phase of his surroundings, gave the native a pencil and a piece of paper, and urged him to draw. And he became especially attentive when he came upon portraits of himself among demons and lizards, trees and leopards, for such a find offered him new fields of rich information.

Many primitive tribes were totally opposed to this exorbitant thirst for knowledge, and many explorers must have found that they were being told obvious lies. Many had the same experience as Koch-Grünberg, whom they guided over a dangerous mountain, with the full determination to fling him down and call the mountain in honour of the white explorer, 'doturu-hede', Doctor-mountain, a plan that, only thanks to accident, failed to succeed. Despite this incident, however, Koch-Grünberg became very popular among his South American Indians, and they have produced numerous portraits of him. One of these appears in Fig. 186 and is the work of a Tukano Indian.

Our eyes find it difficult, of course, to recognize a learned scholar in the

little spindle-legged body made by drawing a few parallel lines, in the empty bowl of a head, and the arms no thicker than a thread; two of the best known scholars are justified in comparing their primitive portraits with the 'Sketch-Book of Little Moritz' (Weule; von den Steinen). But we must not forget that most of the primitive tribal drawings were made from memory only, as we see from various examples in other chapters. We have specially good information from Karl von den Steinen, who labels his own portrait (Fig. 187) as 'classic', about the methods which the South American Indians adopted in drawing. We should never have identified the object above the eyes as a moustache, had not the Indian himself explained it as such to the explorer, and in the same way the

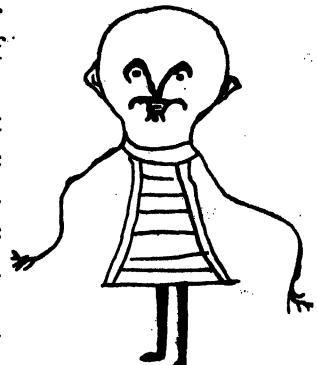


FIG. 186

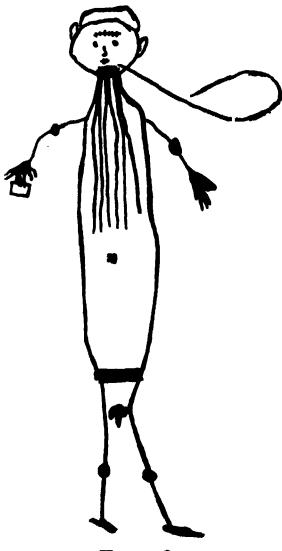


FIG. 187

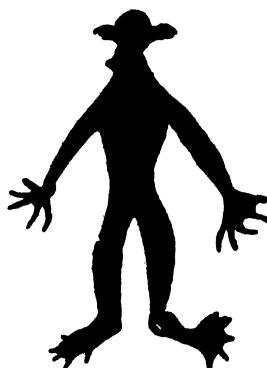


FIG. 188

meaning of the seven fingers on the right hand is not obvious till the Indian points out that the two extra fingers are required to hold the note-book. The beard is indicated by exaggerated lines reaching to the waist, while the blobs in the arms and legs denote the joints. The loop formation on the right is the tobacco-pipe, which was little emphasized, and merely suggested the European shape, because the Indians were themselves acquainted with the pipe.

The Saxon explorer, Krause, seems to have appeared ridiculous even to the Indians, to judge

by his portrait from the Araguaya (Fig. 188). What made these Indians represent him as an amphibian (note the hands and feet) is not quite clear, nor whether they intended to give him a topee or enormous donkey's ears, eager to catch every bit of gossip.

The author of this book has frequently, both in Africa and in Labrador, been the unsuspecting model for the artistic exercises of his coloured friends. Since work of this kind is extremely rare with the Canadian Indians, two examples of it are shown here. Both are the work of an old Algonquian, a Montagnais-Naskapi of the Lake St. John band. His name was Johnny Connally, and he was an ingenious carver and decorator of wooden and birch-bark objects. He never sat idle; he was always occupied, with the help of patterns and a crooked knife, in conjuring up figures of animals and spirits in a kind of silhouette technique on birch bark. He was the ever watchful critic of the traps I set in the woods with the help of his tribesmen. He was never tired of giving information about old-world customs, and of lending me his birch-bark canoe for evening trips on the big lake. He, like the other Indians, used to call me 'Iraquai', the smoker. Hardly a day went by that he did not show me a portrait of myself, that he had just finished; sometimes as a light-coloured sketchy figure on a round box of birch bark, where I was represented alongside numerous cigars, a table, and candles (he had never met a man who worked after dark—the 'man who works at night' is



FIG. 189

usually for Indians the beaver, the builder in the night); sometimes as a kind of legendary figure, who follows the footprints of the Wi'tigo, to snatch his human victim from him, and save it from being devoured. When Johnny could get a piece of paper and a pencil, he would try to draw a portrait of me, and would examine me cunningly and critically in reporter fashion, as though to fathom all my hidden qualities.

Fig. 189 is a variant of many others which show his efforts. He was exceptionally good at copying my clothes. My wife, who learnt from his daughter how to make moccasins, and was often with his family, he treated as a colleague, for she made copies of his patterns and decorations. He frequently made portraits of her as well, even bringing in the bobbed hair. In Fig. 190 he has sketched us both in his canoe, but the picture of the canoe is the best part of the drawing.

But it is not only the individual who receives notice; sometimes we get a picture of his whole range of activities, as in Fig. 191 (Hambruch Collection). Here the base and characters are painted ochre, the flagstaff is red at the foot, most of the other surfaces are black. On the left, next to the flagstaff with its flag, we see the house of a district superintendent in Koror; next to him comes the anthropologist Hambruch, who is busy measuring a native's height. Next comes a water-tank, a street lamp, a rain-gauge, and then a group of four natives, among whom we recognize Hambruch again in riding

attire. This group seems to be posing for a camera, operated by a native. The relief-carving hails from the Niraikelau in Pelew (Caroline Islands.)

Among the very rare primitive models representing explorers

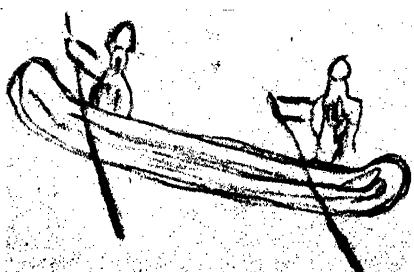


FIG. 190

THE SAVAGE HITS BACK

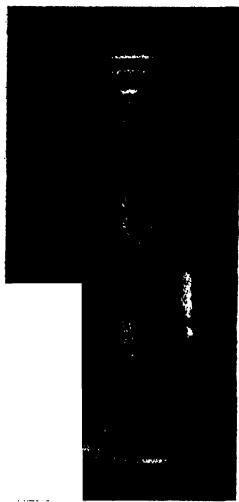


FIG. 192

we may place an ivory figure (Fig. 192, British Museum) which we may suppose to be a portrait of Livingstone. We know with what love and affection the blacks clung to Livingstone. For more than two thousand miles two of them carried the dead body of the explorer and missionary through Africa to the coast, through the jungle and the territories of enemy tribes, heedless of the dangers of wild animals and sweeping rivers, to carry out the commands of their master. Chuma and James Susi were the names of these two faithful friends. So it would not be surprising if the figure of the great white pioneer who lived most of his life among the natives of West, South, and East Africa had taken positive shape in the art of these simple tribesmen.

Chapter X

THE WHITE WOMAN

THE white man was Power. He brought fire-arms, danger, and commands. He came in his ships, full of peculiar objects, full of the secrets of foreign magic. He instituted order, and organization, with which he coupled death and annihilation. He knew the arts of reading and writing, and showed the children of the wilderness a new God. . . . Men—always men: adventurers in ships, soldiers who forced their way through the jungle, missionaries who defied marsh fevers, merchants who brought wares and took other wares away at the risk of their lives, Governors and officers who ruled, and who became quite familiar in their gay uniforms, topees, and khaki. Men's work was the programme, and to the native Europe stood for the white man.

Were there any women in his country? As a rule the native took what he saw to be fact; so probably there were no white women, at any rate no European ever brought them with him. The convention of earlier centuries tied the woman to the house, and if her husband was removed to other continents she waited at home for him. An officer, or merchant, or missionary would have thought it monstrous in the early days of discovery to let a lady accompany him in his adventurous pioneer work, or come to live in territories near the Equator. The mistress of the house, the mother of the children, stood in isolation on her pedestal, given to her by centuries of prejudice; she was as protected and as useless as a Dresden doll.

The female adventurer was, as a type, completely unknown. If then such a woman left home and anticipated the emancipation of her sex by some thirty or forty years, in order to learn about the world's darkest spots, she was treated by the men of the coloured world as an evil beast, an unknown monster that had to be killed. The Dutch woman, Alexandrine Tinné, who organized an expedition of her own to Africa, was murdered in this way by the Tuareg in 1869, and the idea that they were dealing with a European lady probably never occurred to this wild warrior tribe when they took her life.

With the advancing achievements of civilization, disseminated in native colonial regions by Europe's envoys, with the growth of comfort, the opening of communications and the improvement in possibilities of life as a European, the first, but not very extensive, invasion of the white woman began. The negro, the Indian, and the Australian were accustomed to recognize their masters in the officer and administrative official, but the white woman, who bore no arms and had no jurisdiction, was at first simply ignored. She did not fight, she had nothing to sell, and even in their world of religion she had no meaning. She was simply just another of those unintelligible things which made the white gentleman's environment. There was no reason why the native should have any truck with her, and certainly no reason for spending so much detailed thought upon her as to express the result in any arduous form of art. She played no active part in life's essentials.

Territories where Mohammedan influence predominated allowed her, as an individual, no consideration of any kind, for there the woman, according to their belief, possesses neither soul nor immortality, and the European woman's personality had no claims to any more exact study. And in other regions, where missionaries had brought tidings of one divine white woman, the mother of the world's Saviour, no inclination at all was shown to pay special honour to other women who were mortal, or to place them on a level with the white man who stood for power. Besides, many rich natives had a complete harem of women, so that a single wife made no kind of impression, and white explorers have often had to answer astonished questioners who wondered how a man possessing so many cartridges came to be so poor as to have only one wife. Consequently, illustrations of the white woman in primitive art are very rare. At first no attention was paid her, and afterwards so many arrived all at once that the mark of the extraordinary ceased to attach to her. The domains in which white women held sway were unconnected with the domains of weapons and violence—there was no need to fear them, study their moods, or attribute any power to them at all.

The fact that the most frequent representations of the white woman occur in West Africa may be due to the honour in which the numerous indigenous women's secret societies are held. Their power extended so far, as in the case of the Bundu society, that they would protect themselves behind masks affording peculiar disguise, and deliver judgment and sentence of death upon men, and the chief had to execute such judgments.

Frequently these female leaders of secret societies have been represented in models of which details have already been given, at times with European attributes, especially glass and bottle (as, for example, Mrs. Kambi of the Isango Secret Society, Basle Mission Museum). West Africa then was readier than other parts of the world to discern in the white woman a mystic, unfathomable creature, and to produce likenesses of her. Benin, however, has not supplied, among its famous castings, any representations of European women, which is easily explained, since in those centuries not a single European woman sailed to the West Coast of Africa. Besides that, it was the Portuguese who first came in contact with the Benin tribes, and the Portuguese, like all the neo-Latin nations, insisted strongly upon relegating their women folk to domestic duties.

But in another part of Africa we find the European woman more frequently, not modelled, it is true, but painted in the rock drawings of the Bushmen. A Bushman's drawing (Stow) from South-West Africa, produced in the first half of the nineteenth century, shows us a Boer family consisting of two women and a man. The Bush artist has caught the fashions of the day in excellent detail. Perhaps, as often happened, he was the Boer's cattle-tender, and had the herds under his charge. The women are wearing long skirts, one with dark vertical stripes, the other spotted. Both women have white spotted blouses, and the man is wearing trousers and a double-breasted coat with buttons. The change in fashion between the early years and the middle of the nineteenth century is illustrated by another Bushman's painting (Stow) of a man and his wife, which is remarkable for its elegant line and close observation of detail. The lady is wearing a skirt with vertical stripes, together with a blouse of 'modern' cut, and a white straw hat. The man is wearing a tall black hat, and a tight-fitting black suit. The woman seems decidedly more modern than the date of the drawing would lead us to suppose, so that we are justified in thinking that we have here a much more recent piece of work, dating from the beginning of the twentieth century.

In Indian drawings from the Plains the white woman is equally rare, though at times she fought, weapon in hand, beside the white man against the Indians. But here again her absence from these drawings is to be explained by the Indian's general attitude. How could a white woman possibly merit even a small space in their productions, which usually related to famous war exploits and glorious tribal history. That was man's business, not a task for squaws!

The European woman, then, made an almost unheeded entry into the territories of primitive tribes; she was of secondary consideration. She lived in the white man's house, and gave orders to the servants there, but these servants had no time, and we suppose not much desire, to regard their mistress as a model for artistic efforts, and their coloured brethren in the forest never met her at all. The white man fitted the whole of their conception of life: he was the owner of guns and other magic property, but his wife was a component part of his household not often visible. Yet for all that woman appears in such manifold forms, that general terms are ill-suited to her. She was the officer's wife, or the robust companion of some Dutch captain, or a nun, or an inactive demi-goddess, or the missionary's housekeeper. She wore remarkable articles of clothing to conceal her person, and it was quite uncertain whether, like the native women, she possessed breasts, hips, legs, and the power to bear children. How far these wrong ideas about the biological structure of the white woman extended will be explained in the next chapter in dealing with the portrait of Queen Victoria. No one ever heard of intimate relations between a white woman and a coloured man, whereas the reverse frequently occurred—yet another contributory reason for the unpopularity and unintelligible nature of the European woman. When she did suddenly appear in the house of a man of her own race and colour the natives did not at first believe that she possessed actual white skin, and would often shyly feel her arm to make sure of the real colour, or would examine the objects on her toilet table, to pry into her secret.

Numerous anecdotes of this kind are reported, chiefly by English colonists. In addition, it was impossible to make a permanently true picture of her. Even among native women changing times brought changes in coiffure, and preferences for individual colours or decorations. But the European woman was a perplexing labyrinth of changes. Her gown shapes and waist lines, hats and fans, displayed variations without end, for their mistress was the slave of secrets that reached her from foreign realms of civilization, the Paris and Vienna fashions.

The first clue to her characterization was the skirt, which is the basic idea in the Eskimo portrait of a woman (Fig. 193) (Copenhagen National



FIG. 193

Museum). They took a simple block of wood, and notched it in the middle to make the waist, for this line, which to their costume was foreign, struck them more than anything. The face they treated as a simple cube with no distinction of nose, eyes, or mouth, and above this they put a mushroom hat. Two straight pieces of wood, completely unfashioned, formed the legs, and the job was done: everybody could recognize this imitation of one of these unknown insipid creatures called 'white woman'; it was waste of labour even to give her arms.

In the National Museum, Copenhagen, there is a similar specimen from the Egedesmindes district on the same coast. This figure, too, has no arms and is remarkably scanty. It has not even a waist, and is clad in a long cape-like overall and a hood, so that it is not actually certain whether we have a nun, an ordinary woman, or a man, in front of us. The face has completely vanished under the head covering, which reaches down to the breast. If we compare such raw representations with the finely detailed portraits of the white man, the differing technique will enable us fully to comprehend the desultory ignorance of the white woman which usually prevailed.

Just as hasty is the impression we get from the drawing of a Russian woman (Fig. 194) in the Central Ethnological Museum, Moscow, the work of the Eastyak Samoyedes, about 1900. All the same, the observer has gone into more detail and has not omitted buttons, waist-line, shoes, and head wrap. Anthropologically, the facial features and prominent cheek-bones are typically Slav, though otherwise have nothing specially feminine about them and, were a beard added, might equally well be the features of a man.

Any connoisseur of the manifold artistic graces of the North-West American Indians will understand why even the slate-carving of a European woman, whose head has gone astray, thanks to accidents that have befallen her in museums, possesses exactly the same speaking characteristics and expert skill that we find in everything these Indians produced. This plastic (Fig. 195) from the Haida Indians shows the usual realistic style of their art, but for all that it does not employ either in composition or execution



FIG. 194

the elements of their symbolism which are found in such numbers in objects of common use on the north-west coast. As in a wooden figure published by Boas, the modelling of the eyes is specially typical. The medium, black slate, is the same as that used in other well-known carvings by these tribes, and the technique is similar. But there is a radical difference in the composition and attitude of the figures; they have not the slightest connection with the habits of the Indians, but are entirely European in their peculiarities.

No Indian mother will clasp her child in this fashion by the wrist. No Indian woman will lay her arm in her husband's in such a stiff and solemn way, and, finally, no Indian man will put his finger-tips to his hip-pockets in this elegant countrified manner, even supposing he had any hip-pockets. All this has been observantly borrowed from the European peculiarities, and even though all the figures were headless, we should still recognize the Russian married couple of the eighteenth century, with the house-dog as a member of the family, while the milk-jug in the mother's hand is equivalent to her sceptre of housewifery. Very detailed care has been devoted to the costume. An apron is worn above a skirt and petticoat, thereby



FIG. 195

making the base on which the figure stands superfluous; the pleating and lower edges of the apron display the exactitude and neatness of a costume which we may liken to a dress of a Swiss housewife in the second half of the sixteenth century. The bodice is presumably decorated with bright trimmings, and at the sleeve insertion we notice a piece of lace. The cut of the child's clothes and her features have been treated with the same care. Nor has the artist forgotten to put in the wrist line where

the sleeve ends, a detail which simply does not occur to most primitive workers. We can see that this is the product of a master of observation, and an expert carver in slate. Even the character of the woman represented is discernible from her attitude, for the perfection of her dress and the energetic grip she has upon her daughter's wrist and husband's arm show that in her household order reigns.

These complete groups of European families are extremely rare in primitive art. I know only one other, consisting of husband, wife, and child, an exhibit from the Quibanda, Angola (Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum Cologne). The material is wood. The child, which is here a diminutive baby, is being carried on the man's arm in a very uncommon and non-European way. It is sitting in a remarkable posture, half in the air, with its legs drawn up. The woman is wearing a jacket with diagonal stitching and decorative trimming, beneath which appear her little pointed breasts. There is a suggestion of long sleeves. The short legs are concealed in a diamond pattern skirt, and are only slightly visible below. In her hand the woman is holding an object very difficult to recognize, but it may be something to eat. Unlike their Indian counterpart, the married couple have no dog to accompany them, but a tortoise, which doubtless corresponds to the negro artist's ideas of magic, and was introduced by him into the composition of the European motif.

When compared with the detailed execution of these groups, the figure of a missionary's wife (Fig. 196) from Tube, San Blas, Panama, strikes us as rather rough (Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Mass.). Its creator, probably a Cuna Indian, has lightened his task considerably, but this type of carving is entirely in keeping with the evidence of the Cuna conception of art. The drapery of the skirt was almost completely ignored, and the feet have no evident distinguishing marks. What mainly interested the artist was the peculiar head-dress and the cut-out at the neck, in which he has actually noticed and marked in four lines of gathering. The short arms, with their carelessly separated fingers, end upwards in bony male shoulders. The sculptor himself must have found this rather too military, so that for the sake of certainty and sex distinction he inserted two tiny breasts on the blouse in concentric semi-circles.

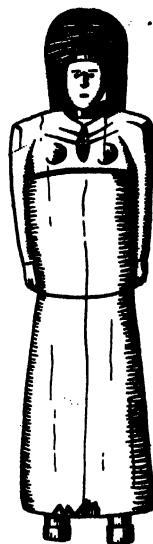


FIG. 196

Ancient artistic skill in tribal worlds blends with the personal temperament of some gifted individual, and finally becomes interesting, when the union of the two succeeds in producing a real piece of art that preserved the unmistakable characteristics of the original. This happened in Fig. 197. I am strongly inclined, in the case of this earthenware vessel showing a lady with crinoline (Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum, Cologne), to suspect that we have the portrait of a definite person. The bun rising high in the centre of the

head, the small chain and pendant, and the red crinoline are in remarkable harmony with the stupid flinty face. This type of earthenware model dates from the second half of the nineteenth century and is a piece of Guiana work in the coloured glazed ware typical of these tribes. In this instance the object is used as a water jug.

And now I see before me a negro face full of roguish laughter, two sharply observant eyes, and a pair of deft hands, engaged in carving a masterpiece from sheer love of mockery, coupled with a desire to pass the time in a diverting way. Fig. 198 is the school mistress of comedy in the costume of the nineties of the last century (Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum, Cologne). No European artist could better this wood carving from Dahomey. It embodies, in equal degree, all the grotesque features of the fashions of that day (leg-of-mutton sleeves, wasp waist, stand-up collar, man's straw hat, and stitched braid on the skirt), together with

FIG. 197

the ungracious self-satisfaction of a certain type of woman who at the end of the century symbolized the idea of the 'bluestocking'. Here again we are undoubtedly dealing with an actual portrait. From the belt-clasp to the outlines of the shrivelled body beneath the 'fashionable' skirt, from the bust beneath the tucks on the blouse to the sleeve cuffs, from the giant ears to the eyelids which are lowered in false modesty, this figure is a master-piece.



The modelling of the two hands is amusing; the left hand is clenched, the right is wide open and ready for action. Is someone just going to get a box on the ears, or does this attitude denote a forced discipline, perhaps in the presence of a superior, while the suppressed feelings are betrayed by the clenched fist? What nimble observation, what biting criticism, and what sheer roguery, does the artist display here! A modern girls' school would give this model a place of honour, provided, of course, that the head mistress could take a joke.

No other models of Europeans in tribal art can be pigeon-holed with such ease to their special period as the illustrations of women, which are nothing but a fashion journal of previous years: if we turn back we find them all. There is a striking preference for fashions of the years 1880, 1890, and 1900, while African preference is more marked than that of the rest, so that we are led to conclude that this fashion period was in special harmony with the negro's sentiments. Such is actually the case. The strong emphasis upon lines that are exceptionally feminine, and the exuberance of the ladies possessing such lines are entirely suitable to the production of a deep impression upon the black man—the never waning popularity of the Maria Theresa dollar in Africa harks back to nothing but the stately bust of the Empress. To this type of woman belongs also Bibi Anna, who, in the drawing of a negro boy from Kissarawe (East Africa), is being greeted by a mission deacon (Natural History Museum, Magdeburg). This extremely well-built lady, who is well finished 'both behind and before', is wearing a straw hat in the style of the Dahomey model (Fig. 198) and is armed with an umbrella. Filipo, the artist, has recorded the eventful moment at which Bibi Anna is shaking hands with the deacon, a sight which for a negro would be extremely uncommon.

A similarly self-assured lady is to be found as a carved relief on a West African ivory tusk (Umlauff Collection, Hamburg). The head covering, with its elongated neck protection, suggests ancient Egypt, but this may be partly due to the profile. The lower body, however, is presented from the side, not frontally, as is the case with ancient Egyptian wall reliefs. The hair is parted, and taken back under the cap in stiff parallel locks.



FIG. 198

The neck is adorned with a large linked chain. The right hand is firmly gripping the handle of a common umbrella, which when fully opened is at most a fifth as large as the whole head. The white woman's dress is divided at the hips by a belt. In her left hand she is carrying a handbag, on which we involuntarily look for the words 'Bon voyage', which we associate with this respectable and old-fashioned equipment. The powerful shoes with clearly marked heels complete the speaking likeness of a thoroughly reliable and thoroughly unattractive personality.

To compare with these two uncouth types we shall introduce our completely fashionable lady, as pictured by a Mossonto and published by F. Christol. She incarnates the prosperous years of the closing nineteenth century, and with her tight-lacing and enormous hambone sleeves may have appeared remarkably seductive. And she was beyond doubt a French woman. Beneath the broad projecting skirt, which she is holding up slightly with her left hand, we catch sight of her tiny foot and small shoe. Her left hand is busy behind her back with the end of a loop. Her head is adorned with an enormous hat, and a cabbage-shaped decoration which may be feather or ruche. The Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Mass., possesses an original African basket with representations of European women, presumably Spanish women in gorgeous attire, waving fans before their faces.



FIG. 199

In contrast to all these fashionable ladies of the century's end, we meet in Fig. 199 (Ethnological Museum, Frankfort) a feminine figure from Portuguese Angola possessing the serious, almost tragic features, of ancient ancestral portraits. The almond-shaped painted eyes with pronounced and regular brows, the modelled nose, and the lifeless symmetrical mouth would hardly lead us to suppose that we are here dealing with a European woman, were it not for the long skirt reaching to the base on which the figure stands, and under which two tiny round feet can just be espied. The woman has both her arms resting on her hips. But though she was expressly fashioned and labelled a European, she bears more resemblance

to a member of some exotic tribe, or a native woman belonging to a secret society, with her face whitened.

Quite different is the modern realism of the two flappers from Ganda, Angola (Fig. 200). The sober smooth lines, the rhythmic presentation, together with the avoidance of all unessential detail, show a strong relationship to the work of the most recent European masters. The figure on the left is wearing a bright blouse, that on the right a kind of suit. But what the object is that both the girls are holding between them, in what is almost a camera pose, it is impossible to decide.

Earnest, and in fact tragic, are the features of another Angola figure from Lunda (Fig. 201) (Lisbon Geographical Society). It is a sculptured piece of painted earthenware. The lower fold of the skirt has been employed in an original manner to form the top of a column, from which

rises a kind of frozen body and head. The woman is wearing a dark jacket reaching to her hips, over a bright dress with rounded neck-piece, and the whole, as we have stated, turns into a column lower down. The arms are exceedingly short, and bent at an obtuse angle. The wide-open eyes are arched with strong brows. The back of the head seems covered with a cap. No hair is to be seen. The right hand shows four clumsy fingers, and the left appears to be carrying a parcel.

Fig. 202, a terra-cotta figure of a woman from the lower Congo (Belgian Congo Museum, Tervueren), produces almost the impression of an antique work of art, some additional burial ornament found in ancient



FIG. 201



FIG. 200



FIG. 202

and advanced civilizations. The figure is reminiscent of the miniature models of the late antique school, and was, like others of its kind, preserved in native huts. The face, which has no ears, is surrounded by a conventional mass of hair, resembling a wig. The expression of the features is typically European, almost anxious; the lips are narrow, the eye-brows horizontal, and the cheeks rounded. About her neck the lady is wearing a double cord on which, engraved on the figure's breast, hangs a cross. The broad puffing of the dress above the hips reminds us of the Greek woman's chiton. Below the long draped skirt appear feet without shoes, but with clearly recognizable toes. The model stands on a small round base which, with the well-proportioned arms, which are in evidence only as stumps, reminds us once again of some ancient classical statue.

The lady in Fig. 203 also wears a cross, which shows the intention to por-

tray her as a Christian and a European. But she is no product of a primitive artist's hand: Chinese satire has indulged in a mocking portrait of the whisky-drinking Englishmen and their white ladies, who are themselves not above a small brandy. The figure comes from the province of Canton (Mundle Collection, Barmen). The lady represented is wearing a gaily coloured dress, and a bright apron with flower decoration. The white edged décolleté and respectable white cap prove that we are dealing with an honest woman, though she is undoubtedly a bit drunk, for her head has been attached on a loose pivot, and, at the slightest motion or the gentlest disturbance of the table on which the figure is placed, the head begins to wobble. The facial expression shows as the perfection with which old Chinese art could achieve complete mimicry. The small contracted



FIG. 203

eyes and the wry mouth with its barely visible smile display a rather sorry merriment. The right hand, which has the brandy bottle, may be a trifle limp, but it has a tight grip on the precious liquid. The left hand holds the glass which she will soon lift to her mouth again. Beneath her dress we discern, in delicate suggestion, the extreme limpness of her body. The picture is a little satiric masterpiece, produced by an ancient and advanced civilization which was adept in the study of human weaknesses and human peculiarities.

We see then that, despite the large number of white women who made their sudden entry into primitive lands, the critical consciousness hardly awoke to their existence, and but few of these European ladies made a deep enough impression on the inward mind of the coloured tribes, however open it was to every magic influence, for them to employ women as models for fetishes, or scare-figures, or even for definite and conscious portraits. Only in very few instances has the white woman been made an object of satire; if we except the typical schoolmistress in Fig. 198, we find the artist content with a skirt, a hat, and a parasol to symbolize the white woman. The tipsy lady from Canton (Fig. 203) is the work of a highly civilized people.

The white lady, living as she did in the shadow of the mighty administrator or officer, adopted an attitude of reserve which made it more difficult still for the primitive man to get closer knowledge of her peculiar person; consequently she was represented merely as a kind of transitory decoration, exactly as some curious pieces of the white man's gear were occasionally employed, as objects that can be quite interesting but which are not endowed with power, as the white man is, to exercise his magic in mysterious fashion, and obtain a hold upon the habits and religious beliefs of the coloured tribes.

The result is that we find extremely few expressions of negro opinion about the white woman. An oft-sung refrain was repeated to me: "The white man must have a white wife, and the black man a black." But even this precept is far more concerned with the white man who, when he had no wife of his own people, frequently formed a liaison with a black girl, than with the European lady who usually entered the country as the white man's wife, and naturally came in contact with the negro only when he was required as servant, bearer, or menial of some other kind. The white woman never came to consider the negro man as a member of the male sex. And yet there have been exceptions even here.

From various parts of the world accounts have reached us of cases in which white girls, stolen when quite young by the natives and brought up among them, have later displayed no kind of inclination to go back to civilized regions, and have become completely identified with their surroundings. We know of an example in Australia where a convict's small daughter was carried off by the natives, kept in the bush, and brought up there. When the girl grew up she married a native and bore children. Her white relations made tremendous efforts to win her back to civilized life, but were unsuccessful. But in this case we must remember that the child was quite small when carried off, and had already grown up in the atmosphere of the native tribe, a premise which is obviously essential.

Marriages between European ladies and male members of any primitive tribes are very rare, whilst marriages of the reverse order are widespread. If, in earlier days, the white woman had been an isolated greenhouse plant cloistered off from the primitive world around her by the whole nature of her life, factors of an opposite order are in our day maturing the same result. The modern white woman in tropical countries is absolute companion, partner, and the white man's fellow-combatant, commanding almost exactly as much power in native eyes, and receiving from the native the same shy consideration and treatment. Her essential role as woman consequently produces an automatic barrier, just as did her isolation in earlier days, and in this way she is protected from the inquisitive consideration and from the mental atmosphere of the native, just as her wasp-waisted sister was in earlier centuries. There is then little prospect of securing in future any good artistic models of the white woman. Not only is her sex a disadvantage to her, but she will be forced more than ever to retreat before the image of the Virgin, which to primitive artists not only personifies the new religion, but has become their immediate conception of white womanhood.

Chapter XI

THE CHIEFTAINS OF THE WHITES

COLONIZATION had made the primitive tribes subjects: subjects of a distant land beyond the ocean, called England, France, Portugal, Spain, or some other strange name. All the whites who forced their way into the country conversed in the sounds of that country's tongue, introduced the new currency, began and ended their documents, sermons, and court verdicts with the additional words 'In the name of His Majesty!' or a similar reference to a sovereign the natives had never seen, who was Ruler in the Empire and to whom from now on they had to pay tribute. Official records, postal services, government offices, and seals all bore the peculiar emblem of a coat of arms: and wherever that coat of arms was found, validity, vindication, and legality were found with it. The Congo negroes did not hesitate to engrave it on an elephant tusk (Royal Conservatoire of Music, Brussels)—it might be engraved on every one of the Belgian King's possessions, so perfect is the Belgian lion. Of course, it is surrounded by frogs and lizards, the more familiar and realistic figures, which form a sharp contrast with the heraldic conventionality of the coat of arms. The South American Mauhé Indians of the Para Province painted a quiver with the royal coat of arms of Brazil (National Museum, Rio de Janeiro), whilst the Ireguezia of Thomar (Rio Negro) employed the same emblem in coloured feathers, and of very similar design, as leading motif in a beautiful feather rug, which is to be found in the same museum. The coat of arms was associated with magic, with symbolism and omnipotence, but the form of the country's new lord himself was completely beyond their reach—a mixture of power and wizardry which they might not behold in bodily form. The Chief they had seen, and the Council of the Elders. They saw the Governor, or his deputy, and these maintained that they were themselves servants of one still greater and mightier, the distant King and Lord of the Country.

On occasions when they had to pay tribute, or perform some duty or other, they were summoned to the Government administrative offices, and whilst they humbly awaited orders they would gaze furtively at the great coloured picture on the wall which, they had learnt, was 'His Majesty',

the Lord of that European Country whose uniforms the soldiers wore, and in whose name everything took place as ordered by the white men who wielded the King's authority. The teacher would show his pupils coloured cards with the picture of the Sovereign, or would give them objects bearing his portrait. The King's birthday was a general holiday, and in some mysterious way this distant monarch took part in all that happened, even though his own country needed him so sorely that he had no time to get acquainted with his coloured subjects. In extremely rare cases he might come in gorgeous pomp, attended by his suite to pay the Governor a short visit. The Askaris would salute, and the barefooted patriots form

a double hedge and shout hurrah. Such an experience as that would ferment for years in a man's mind, till at last it took shape, and became a picture of the King. There were countless photographs and postcards to aid the memory, and it was easy to make such an exact portrait of the monarch that everyone recognized him.

The longer a European sovereign reigned, the longer his particular portrait hung in the government offices, and his birthday was celebrated by parades and his jubilees by festivals, the more deeply



rooted became his popularity in the hearts of his coloured subjects, the more familiar was his form that they had never seen and the more frequent were the attempts to produce a striking portrait of him. For a long time the world power of the British Empire was concentrated in one single figure, that of Queen Victoria. Portraits of her as kindly sovereign, mighty ruler, and crowned womanhood were so in keeping with the primitive imaginations of her African subjects that attempts to represent her artistically were astonishingly numerous. Fig. 204 shows her to us as we all know her, and as we shall depict

FIG. 204



Above, FIG. 205. Below, FIG. 206

Above, FIG. 207. Below, FIG. 208

her to our readers in order to demonstrate the striking ability of these native artists.

In the year 1913, twelve years, that is, after her death, an article appeared in *Anthropos* (Schweiger) entitled: "Newly discovered Bushman Paintings in the Cape Province, South-East Africa". Plate 3 of the illustrations showed a wall painting from the Ngolosa Cave, St. Mark's District. It is reproduced in Fig. 205. About this and other wall paintings from the neighbourhood the author makes the following precise remark: "They all bear traces of extreme antiquity. Though they have been continually exposed to rain and storm, the colours are still quite fresh and vivid." Had he happened to be carrying our illustration, Fig. 204, in his pocket, this cave drawing would have seemed less enigmatic; in the figure that possesses no real face, hands, or feet, he would easily have recognized the mistress of the British Empire, Queen Victoria. The 'ancient' wall painting was certainly not twenty-five years old, and in the whole of this book there is scarcely one single other figure fashioned with such life-like truth and at the same time such primitive means, for the artist has noted all the essentials, and formed them into one concise whole: the rounded face and conspicuous cheeks, the flowing veil behind, and the crown on the head. The Bushman artist has even caught the fashion in vogue at the close of the century, the puffed folds of the skirt, and retained the attitude of majesty, despite a scarcely noticeable portliness: he has seen it all, and fashioned it in the simplest and most intelligible lines.

It is beyond question that the secret of the Queen's great popularity is traceable to the same origin as that of the Maria Theresa dollar already mentioned: the fullness of the Queen's bust made a deep impression upon the negro mind. It would appear also that the illustration (Fig. 204) was extensively popular as the official portrait of the Queen, so that all reproductions produce the effect of copies made from a half-length photograph, and then the lower limbs were added in an abrupt and mistaken way, since no one was quite certain whether the Empress was biologically constructed like other women, or only vaguely resembled, in bodily form, the normal types of her sex.

This timid embarrassment over the biological structure of the Empress is very clearly marked in Fig. 206 (Ethnological Museum, Hamburg), a wood carving from the Guinea Coast. The artist, who had learnt how to write, engraved on the skirt the words QUEEN VICTORIA OF LONDON, thereby displaying not only his plain intention of individual portraiture,

but his geographical and international talent into the bargain. This famous lady was before him, he had a half-length portrait of her, and his first task was to copy her features, which he did exceedingly well, noting all the characteristics and moulding them properly: the full cheeks, the nose, the shape of the mouth and the lines connecting it with the nose, even the expression in the eyes, and the way in which the right hand holds the fan. He did not venture to portray the sovereign's breast in the usual blunt West African manner, but gave a general indication of its presence without structural detail. But he fully understood and appreciated the Queen's decorations, and has loaded her with them; the three rows of pearls on the wrist, and the necklace, the ear-rings and the crown, to which he paid special attention. His method of attaching the decorations he noticed in his model is exceptionally amusing. He has copied them so exactly, ribbons and knots complete, that in the first one we can recognize a head in profile, and in the other crosses; but they are carved on to the left sleeve instead of on the breast, and would consequently move with every movement of the arm. The hands, as well as the face, are most carefully modelled, and show an exact anatomical knowledge of all that is visible, whilst the invisible and draped portions assume merely vague form, as does the rest of the body.

Figs. 207 and 208 show us the Queen in a similar conception (Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum, Cologne), the material being light-coloured wood with an ormolu crown. In this case the artist's individuality has not rejected the ideas given by his model, but he has developed them in his own peculiar way. The two portions that strike us as abnormal are the breast and the legs. The artist, of course, knew what a woman's breast looks like, but when it came to portraying the breast of a Queen in profile, a Queen who ruled over millions of white men and natives, he was puzzled and helpless. So he shaped one separate projection from the upper region of the body, but central, with the pearl necklace which ornaments the neck running down to it, ending at the nipple in a pendant of flower and cross (Fig. 208). The side view (Fig. 207) shows us the double triangular sleeve ends (also indicated in Fig. 206), the falling veil of Fig. 205, the ear-rings, bracelets and fan, and the bald patch behind the ear, where the hair was forgotten, but this picture does not show us the tiny feet visible in Fig. 208, which the artist with his exact chisel bashfully put in below the skirt. He was not quite certain whether a Queen, who usually travels in a carriage, had feet at all, but he wished to make sure, and



FIG. 209



FIG. 210

therefore he solved his own problem by carving them neatly hidden under the dress.

Even by themselves these unique and enchanting portraits of Queen Victoria would enable us to realize how deeply the idea of the European Sovereign had penetrated the mind of the vanquished savage in the 'barbarous' continents, but we are fortunate enough, in addition, to be able to show her son Edward VII as the primitive tribes pictured him. Fig. 209 represents him as he actually was, and alongside (Fig. 210) is his portrait as a 'bogy' from the Nicobar Islands (Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum, Cologne). We are, of course, quite familiar with the meaning of these scare-figures, and we know that to intensify their effect they were always portraits of people in high place and authority, in order that the evil spirits should flee in terror and impotence before them. The projecting chin may possibly indicate the beard: the figure's gaping mouth contrasts strangely with the king's genial smile, but we must fully understand that there is

considerable difference in attitude between a King who is thanking inspired citizens for their cheers, and the same King scaring devils. The bogy has no suggestion of clothes, while the ears are merely blocks, and yet the general effect is extremely life-like and even to some extent similar, chiefly no doubt on account of the excellent top hat.

Fig. 211, another bogy from the Nicobar Islands (Umlauff Collection, Hamburg), is much more distorted and leads us to suppose that the original was not a portrait, as in the case of Queen Victoria, but just a head. For among all the scare-figures known to us from the Nicobar Islands there are no half-lengths; all are complete and frequently life-size, with weapons in their hands, so that they may be properly equipped to meet the evil spirits. Fig. 211 employs the head only (the other parts of the body being probably unrepresentable), since the head of a mighty white chief was potent enough to replace a complete figure. The wide-open mouth with its two fangs, the staring mussel shells that form the eyes, are more like a permanent devil than a European king, were it not for the top hat and the bust block, which are borrowed from English conceptions. The original data make it indisputably a portrait of Edward VII.

In 1909 the natives of the Belgian Congo were honoured by the personal visit of their sovereign, the late King Albert I of Belgium, who recently met his death by a fall in the mountains. They were thus able to learn what he looked like. His European portrait in the centre of Fig. 212 is the work of Charles Michel, the model on the right is by one of his Congo subjects (Ethnological Museum, Hamburg), and that on the left from Dahomey (Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum, Cologne). The latter, however, so strongly resembles the King that the question of its true origin is not fully established. The shape of the eyes, nose, ears, and beard is exactly the same as in the Congo production, the belt, epaulettes, cuffs, and order-clasps are similar, but the figure on the right is holding a sword by the pommel, while the one on the left is holding a book. The King's broad breastband is prominent in the left-hand figure, but was omitted by the Congo artist. However that may be they are

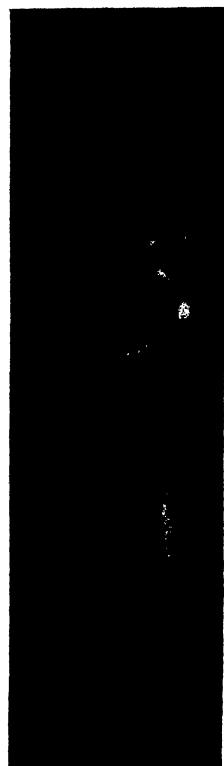


FIG. 211

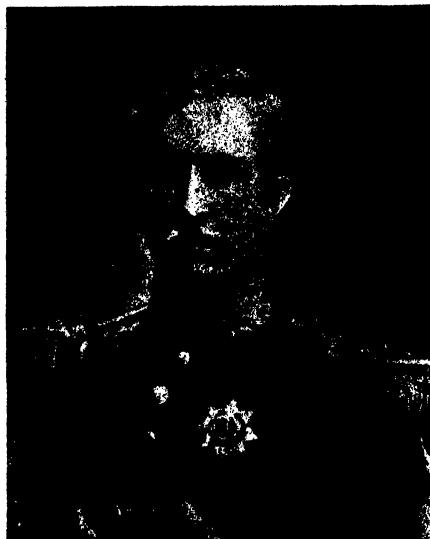


FIG. 212

two fine statues, full of careful detail, and pronounced sympathy and dignity.

Another European monarch, the former German Emperor, made an excellent character study, thanks to his fashion of wearing his moustache with the "we've done it" touch (Fig. 213)

(Bremen Museum). A mission pupil from Togoland, educated in European style and working with European brush and colour, has made such a careful study of his former master, probably with the aid of postcards and pictures, that he has actually reproduced correctly the stunted right arm. The wavy hair, with its resemblance to a comb, has been exactly copied; the whole interpretation of the uniform and orders, and the arrangement of the drawing show the lack of primitive inspiration which we so admired in the plastics of Queen Victoria, and the portraits of Edward VII from the Nicobar Islands. The picture is a water-colour. Another picture of William II, from the same district, is so completely seen with European eyes, even though it is negro work, that reproduction is unnecessary.

In the case of the missionary, the government official, the soldier, the white man in the mass and wherever else we look in primitive art, we notice in all portraits of Europeans a strong recognition of human weaknesses

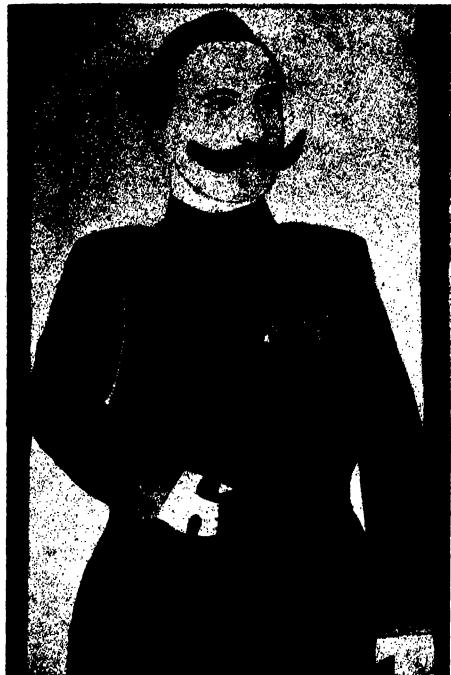


FIG. 213

and peculiarities, but the portraits of rulers, though from our point of view frequently successful and amusing, are always treated conventionally by primitive tribesmen. They had no chance of noting the person of their master, his laugh, his preferences for certain food and drink, his prowess on horseback, his weapons in action. To them he was the idol with which missionary, teacher, and administrator made them acquainted, the foreign potentate, who was of course interesting and even capable of portraiture, but not a human being like others.

And with that they had seen all there was to see, and all Europe had to offer; every type of man, every kind of utensil. And the more they grew accustomed to the new form of life, the more the white man became a daily phenomenon, and began to share with the natives his material and intellectual blessings, the weaker grew the first inspired and fervent inquisitiveness about the European world, the curiosity of the creative type which is the source of all art.

Their astonishment and their admiration waned, and as admiration cooled they lost their profound study of detail. Many of the old artistic

productions had in the interval become commercially precious. The making of new models meant wealth, but the new models could not possibly have the value of the originals. Later came the missionary teaching, with changes in native opinions about nudity, magic, and the power of animals, lightning, and plants. The longer they lived with Europeans, the stronger became their desire to ape them in appearance, speech, and art; and thus their productions grew more and more like those of the white world: they cultivated a mongrel art such as we have known for centuries in the mongrel regions of Central and South America. Cant, spurious imitation, and commercial jobbing in the 'exotic' took the place of the priceless treasures of the savage mind, which alone are capable of fostering real primitive art: curiosity, wonder, ancient magic, and craftsman's ability.

Ever since the idea that 'time is money' penetrated the primeval forest, the native's carvings on ivory tusks have become more and more careless; his models are produced for speculators in the export market, and it is to be feared that in the coming years not very many books about the art of primitive tribes can be written.

For every true art is naïve, is original, and neither the loud-speakers of Europe nor indeed Western civilization is suited to guard in the hearts of these primitive peoples that purity which is the elemental source of all true creation.

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